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ABSTRACT

Based on data collected by way of tests, questionnaires, and interviews in nearly 200 schools, representing a wide range of geography, population, economic conditions, and social history, this handbook is concerned with how schools can be integrated more effectively. Chapter 1 focuses on the school and the objectives of integrated education. Chapter 2 addresses the principles of effective integrated schooling, and focuses on the characteristics of effective integrated schools, and on principles such as modeling, reinforcement, and facilitation. Chapter 3 focuses on integrated education in the elementary schools encompassing such topics as curriculum, achievement and grouping, multi-ethnic teaching, home and school relations, rules and disciplines, staffing, and the principal's leadership. The final chapter focusses on integrated education in the high schools, covering aspects such as the school as a social organization, student focused human relations activities, the faculty and staff in human relations activities, and various factors in teaching in integrated high schools such as curriculum teaching methods, internal integration, and formal and informal integration. (Author/AM)

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A HANDBOOK FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLING

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Educational Testing Service
Princeton, N.J.

July 1976

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Finally we are grateful to the students who responded to our questionnaire and submitted to our testing. To them this handbook is dedicated.

To all, again, our heartfelt thanks.

Chapter 1

The School and the Quality of Integration

This handbook, and the research on which it is based, was premised on two assumptions. The first is that schooling in the United States will be and should be racially integrated. The second assumption is that there are positive actions that can be taken to maximize the educational benefits of integrated schooling. The handbook and the research are concerned not with whether to integrate schools, but how to do so most effectively. The study of conditions and processes of effective school desegregation, upon which this report is based, was planned and carried out with such a criterion in mind. Our aim has been to find out as much as we can about school conditions under which the benefits in integrated education are maximized. To do this we have collected data by way of tests, questionnaires, and interviews in nearly 200 schools, representing a wide range of geography, population, economic conditions, and social history. All of the schools in our study are racially mixed. Our attention has not been on whether integration per se is good or bad for education; we believe that the integration of schools is a desirable and essential component of public policy. Our emphasis has been, rather, on how schools can be more successful in achieving integration. To us, "successful" means having positive benefits for children--benefits to their learning, their attitudes, and their effectiveness as individuals and citizens.

The Role of the School

In many efforts to understand and deal with desegregation in both research and policy terms, the role of the school itself--what happens in the classrooms, corridors, gymnasiums, cafeterias, and principals' offices--has been strangely

neglected. Much emphasis has been placed on the undeniably important roles of community political processes, economic conditions, leadership in the minority and majority communities, social history of the communities and public policy. But education, effective or otherwise, takes place in the schools. If the academic achievements of students are to be increased, it will be through instruction and practice, not through community politics. If positive interracial experiences are to occur among students, they will occur in the interactions of the students themselves. It falls to people in schools--teachers, principals, counselors, paraprofessionals--to organize the multidimensional activities that go into the educational process in a constant endeavor to make those processes beneficial to students. Effective integrated education can be achieved by and only by people in schools.

It is to people in schools that this handbook is addressed. The research results are presented in detail in another report.[1] This handbook attempts to bring together practical suggestions. The source of the suggestions is the large group of school people who have participated in our study. The material is taken directly from people who have been directly and intensely involved in school integration. There are no hypothetical examples or abstract principles that have not been tested and evaluated by conscientious people in real schools. With a few specifically identified exceptions, the specific recommendations are drawn from schools that have shown clear evidence of effectiveness in achieving success in multi-ethnic education. Among all the schools in the study, we paid special attention to those whose students of both races gave evidence of positive race relations and effective academic achievement. We visited and in some cases

[1] G. Forehand, M. Ragosta, and D. Rock, Conditions and Processes of Effective School Desegregation. Final Technical Report for U.S. Office of Education Contract OEC-0-73-6341. Princeton, N.J., Educational Testing Service. 1976

revisited these schools and studied in detail the information provided by their students and personnel. For perspective, we also paid special attention to schools whose results suggested ineffectiveness in integration; the systematic contrast can help focus on practices that are indeed effective as opposed to those that merely sound convincing.

Objectives of Integrated Education

Whatever else it is, school integration is an educational process. This fact is usually recognized by educators but tends to get lost among the many political, social, and emotional concerns that dominate public discussion. The role of educators is, ironically, frequently neglected by the news media, political and legal discussants, parents and, sometimes, school boards. The challenge to educators is undeniably difficult. There are inevitably pressures on students, parents, teachers, and schools that have little to do with the objectives and processes of education. The expectations and aspirations of students are influenced by a complex of external factors. Yet the educational effect on students will influence their abilities and their thinking throughout their lives and will thereby have a lasting effect on society. The educational effect is a result of the learning that takes place both during the formal processes of instruction and the informal experience of living and working in the school. What and how students learn depends on the thoughtful, conscientious, and often laborious efforts of educators.

Throughout this project, we have tried to keep a focus on the educational component of integration. Among all the choices that educators must make--of curriculum, of teaching method, of school organization, of ways to direct effort--which ones offer the best chance of forwarding educational progress?

What specific educational problems accompany integration? How have educators solved them? How can the work of teachers and principals be planned and organized for maximum benefit?

The conditions of integrated schooling vary widely. In many instances, integration represents a marked change. The process of desegregation, or of other dramatic changes in racial composition of the schools, poses special educational problems. We have tried to determine ways in which schools can solve these problems successfully. On the other hand, there exist problems of racial integration even in schools in which racial composition has been relatively constant for years. A professional approach to the educational problems of integration requires careful and painstakingly honest appraisal of the nature and extent of problems in any setting. No school is immune to them.

This section outlines a few basic premises about the educational component of integration. These premises have guided the formulation of suggestions and recommendations presented later. They appear to be basic to effective integrated schooling.

The objectives of integrated schooling must encompass the cognitive and noncognitive objectives of any kind of schooling. In addition, there are objectives that are intrinsic to integrated education. This handbook, and the project on which it is based, focuses on two categories of objectives: academic achievement, and race relations.

Academic Achievement

The goal of maximum achievement for each student is basic to any kind of

educational planning. There are four particular concerns that often accompany integration.

First, there may be disparities in preparation and performance level of minority and majority students. Attempts to deal with such disparities may require differential treatment, and therefore the danger arises of discrimination or perceived discrimination. Second, the events accompanying the integration process may work against optimum academic growth. Such factors as emotional tension, disruption, and outside interference with school practices may or may not exist in a particular situation. When they exist, they are obstacles to learning that must be dealt with; when they are potential, they must be planned for. The success of professionals in a school may be measured in large part by their success in overcoming such obstacles.

Third, the integration of minority and majority students may require changes in teaching methods and practices. There are often (not always) cultural differences between students and most of the teachers in the school. The assumptions that teachers may have relied upon successfully for many years may be challenged. There will be temptations to expect less from, and therefore to give less to, students who do not respond well to well-practiced methods. On the other hand, there will be temptations to continue in familiar directions, to the disadvantage of some students.

Finally, a key problem in achieving academic goals in many integrated schools is the existence of real racial discrimination. No educator likes to admit that discrimination occurs in his or her school, or that he or she is guilty of it. In many instances, discrimination is not practiced intentionally; there are many ways of explaining away instances of discriminatory behavior to

oneself and others. There are some instances in which teachers and principals behave in discriminatory ways without being aware of the effects of their behavior. And there are still other instances in which it appears that discrimination is being practiced intentionally because of prejudiced attitudes and resentment of the fact of integration. These are unpleasant facts, and the instances of deliberate discrimination may be rare. Nevertheless, effective integrated schooling must begin with the honest admission that such practices occur and that they may occur in one's own school and in one's own behavior. If the possibility is admitted, diagnosis and problem solving can take place. The goals of equal opportunity, equitable treatment, and respect for all students are cornerstones of a constructive and professional approach to integrated schooling.

Race Relations

What constitutes "good race relations" in a school? In many instances it is apparent that schools settle for "peace" as an answer. The results of our study do indeed suggest that the easing of racial tensions has many desirable effects. But sometimes the absence of overt conflict reflects merely the suppression of strongly felt attitudes, and apparent peace may be illusory and temporary. At best, absence of overt hostility is a means toward more positive goals. Some of the schools that have been most successful in promoting positive racial interactions have done so by confronting and overcoming serious racial disorders.

There are obviously many facets to good race relations. No research project and no set of recommendations can encompass them all. The research project on which this handbook is based defined and measured several components

of race relations. The choices were made partially on the basis of statistical relationships among students' responses, and partially on the basis of a concept of good race relations.

Students' racial attitudes are perhaps the key indicators of a school's success in race relations. It is clear that these attitudes are influenced by many factors outside the school situation. But it is equally clear that they are influenced by what takes place in the school. There is clear evidence that school conditions and practices can influence--for good or ill--students' respect for persons of another race, their willingness to form interracial friendships, and their perception of persons as individuals rather than as members of a racial group.

Another important component of race relations is the students' perception of the school's racial attitude. When both black and white students see the school as a place where adults support integration and where there is consistent and visible equity and respect, they have a model of effective integration that will influence their own attitudes and their perspective on an interracial society.

Measures of students' racial attitudes and perceived school racial attitudes were the major indicators of race relations at the elementary school level in the research project. At the high school level, it was possible to obtain measures of two additional components.

Racial contact is a measure of the degree to which black and white students interact in positive and constructive ways. Some schools that are integrated by a statistical or legal definition continue to be internally segregated in socially sanctioned ways. The degree to which there is posi-

tive interracial contact among students is an indicator of the quality of race relations in the school.

School fairness is a measure of the degree to which black and white students perceive the school as fair to them personally and perceive themselves as capable of self-direction and of influencing events in a school setting. For minority students, such a concept may be a key to the school's success in race relations. In many cases, the procedures and customs of a school are oriented toward the majority students. Minority students must adapt to conditions that may be foreign and insensitive to them. The result may be feelings of powerlessness, of being victims of an externally controlled fate. Effective race relations must include the feeling that the school fosters competence and self-effectiveness on the part of minority as well as majority students.

Origin and Purpose of This Handbook

This handbook is one of two reports of a study entitled "Conditions and Processes of Effective School Desegregation." The other is a technical report of the methods and findings of the project. The project began with a survey of 94 elementary schools and 68 high schools, conducted in the spring of 1974. This survey collected data on student achievement by means of achievement tests. A student questionnaire contained questions about attitudes, students' backgrounds, and their perceptions of school conditions. Questionnaires for principals, teachers and, in high schools, guidance counselors, elicited information about personal characteristics, attitudes, and conditions and practices in the schools. The schools surveyed covered a wide range of economic backgrounds, geographical locations, racial composition, and size and type of community.

Forty-eight of these schools were visited by members of the study staff to interview principals, teachers, counselors, and students. The interviews focused on the process of racial integration in the schools, on problems and ways in which problems had been solved, and on educational methods and practices employed by the schools.

All of the schools in our sample had shown evidence of having some success in integrated education. If success in integration can be scaled from high to low, our intent was to focus on schools in the upper half of the scale. The reason was that schools that are extremely unsuccessful are likely to have special problems that are different in kind from the more normal range. It appeared likely that avoiding serious failure is not the same as producing success. In some instances, we had data from previous research studies about achievement and race relations in schools. In those cases, we chose schools that were average or above average. When there were no previous data, we went to schools that were judged to be at least partially successful. Therefore, when a comparison is made between schools that are "less effective" and "more effective," it should be borne in mind that these comparisons are from the "successful" end of the scale.

In the spring of 1975, 42 of the schools—21 elementary and 21 high schools—were surveyed again, and all 42 were visited for interviews. These 42 schools were divided between those that had shown the greatest evidence of effectiveness in race relations and those that had been relatively less effective.

Basis for Recommendations

Both the statistical findings of the surveys and the interview results were used in formulating the recommendations of this handbook.

Statistical findings. The key statistical question was this: What school factors are associated with good academic achievement and with good race relations? In particular, the focus was on conditions and practices that differentiated effective schools from less effective ones. In all analyses, the following "nonschool" factors were taken into account: the socioeconomic status of both black and white students, the racial composition of the school, whether the school was Southern or non-Southern, and the community's position on the urban-rural dimension. The argument for taking these variables into account is that schools cannot be expected to exercise control over them. However, if there are school variables which have a positive or negative effect over and above the effect of nonschool variables, such effects offer clear guides to action. The emphasis was on school variables that are subject to change by the school staff in a planned effort to maximize the benefits of integration.

Interview results. The statistical findings offer guides to important variables, but they do not in themselves reveal concrete ways to achieve the effective conditions. The interview studies concentrated on finding out how ideas can be put into practice. Interviewers probed to find out who did what, when, where, and how in effective schools. They asked about responsibilities, social processes, trials and errors, and organization of effort. They asked for detailed examples.

Uses of the Handbook

Throughout the handbook, ideas and principles are summarized in terms of recommendations, which are highlighted in the text. It took effrontery to formulate specific recommendations in the face of the realization that conditions vary greatly from school to school, and that there undoubtedly are people

who have conceptualized and carried out actions in ways that are better than the authors could express them. However, it seemed important to be as concrete and specific as possible. The recommendations can serve as a guide to thinking and planning, even though many users will think of ways to improve on them.

The recommendations are accompanied by examples whenever possible. All of these examples are real. They show how some schools have been able to achieve effective conditions and practices. In many cases, they are worthy of emulation in detail; in all cases, they can suggest specific approaches that can be adapted for a given situation.

Finally, a set of diagnostic questions has been assembled into a checklist. The checklist can help an individual administrator or teacher to identify sources of strength and weakness. It can be used by committees as a basis of discussion and action. It can be used as a basis of a survey to determine the perceptions of students and staff members.

Successful school integration requires constant planning, problem solving, assessment of progress, and correction of mistakes. It is our hope that this handbook, by communicating the experience of other people in other schools, will help those who work to achieve this goal.

Chapter 2

Principles of Effective Integrated Schooling

Racial integration of a school is a complex organizational process. It requires the interaction of a large number of persons and processes. It requires decision making about alternative courses of action. It requires the coordination of many different elements. It brings together every important feature of organizational behavior: motivation, decision making, intergroup and interpersonal conflict, cooperation, and communication.

This discussion attempts to make consideration of such a complex set of issues feasible by identifying some generalizable principles. The principles can best serve as guides to evaluating and formulating actions. The principles we cite are derived from our interviews and observations in schools. We have checked them against the social science literature to make sure that they are, in fact, consistent with generalizable research findings and theories. But in formulating our recommendations, it was more important that people in schools had reported successful experience in applying a principle (however they might separately articulate it) than that the principle be derived from social science research.

The difficulty in presenting both principles and specific suggestions is that the organizational processes are organically interrelated. Although we must present them separately and sequentially, we are constantly aware that, in practice, they must be used in organized patterns. Their organization into a specific plan must be the responsibility of those seeking to maximize effectiveness of school integration.

Characteristics of Effective Integrated Schools

Our research on conditions and practices of effective integration has revealed a great many specific school characteristics that are associated with success in integration. During our school visits we observed a number of ways in which these characteristics can be combined. We state here a conclusion and a set of principles.

Effective schools are characterized by four distinguishing features:

1. Salience. Successful integration is a highly salient goal for most people in effective schools, and for the most influential people in a school. Salience has both motivational and perceptual components. Motivationally, successful integration needs to be an important goal, internalized by both staff and students. It must take a high position among the myriad goals that a school must have. Perceptually, there must be a high degree of attentiveness to progress in integration and alertness to indications of success and failure.

Salience implies absence of racially prejudiced behavior. The association of lack of prejudice on the part of the staff and positive attitudes on the part of students is one of the most pervasive findings in our study. Absence of racial prejudice on the part of the school staff is an important goal. Even if attitude change is not achieved for every staff member, a professional attitude that minimizes prejudiced behavior can be demanded. Salience also implies intention to act positively to achieve good race relations. Such intention may be motivated by a professional attitude and dedication to duty. It need not imply any particular political or ideological position.

2. Intercultural Sensitivity. People in effective schools are sensitive to the cultural backgrounds of the students, to the effect of backgrounds on behavior, self-concept, and aspirations, and to the need to design and carry out educational programs responsively.

3. Interdependence. Many respondents in effective schools often used the term "school family." It implies shared objectives, mutual concern, and mutual sensitivity. Members of a successful school family include the administration, faculty, and students. In successful schools, family feeling is regarded as desirable and rewarding.

4. Equity. In successful schools, the races and individual members of races are treated equitably. The term equity implies fairness and justice. It is neither synonymous with nor antithetical to equality. A school may provide equal opportunity to participate in its activities—in the sense that the activities are open to all—yet without establishing equity. If geographic location, cultural tradition, or minority status are barriers to equal participation, the mere absence of school-imposed barriers does not constitute equity. If minority students must work harder because of a heavier burden of transportation, or need to overcome negative expectations, or informal discrimination, the effect is inequity. The establishment of equity in a school requires positive action. Passively administered policies of equality are not enough.

Principles of Action

Effective integration can be achieved only through actions--ranging from complex programs to simple encounters. Actions that lead to effective integration are not random. They are characterized by foresight, by interaction, and by principle. Most of the recommendations made in this handbook are recommendations for action, but there are also a few general principles. These are fully supported by the social psychological literature and by our own observations in integrated schools. Thus they broadly apply to many kinds of action.

Modeling

A school in its own conduct can and should model the kinds of behaviors that it expects from students. An effectively integrated school will model, in small and large ways, the ideals of positive race relations: respect for members of all races, equality in influence and prestige, sensitivity to personal and cultural values, and cooperation in achieving shared goals.

There is ample evidence that people respond to and learn from models. In our own study, there were many examples of good and bad modeling and its effects. A number of these examples are cited later in the handbook.

An important feature of modeling is to be found in the relationship of minority and majority staff members. This principle alone is enough to justify what may perhaps be our most important recommendations for effective integrated education:

> *Include the racial minority on the faculty and administrative staff.*
>
> *Make sure that staff members who are in minority groups have positions of status and prestige equal to those of the majority. Minority staff members should have authority and influence equal to, and perceived to be equal to, those of the majority.*

These recommendations regarding faculty are important examples of applications of the principle of modeling. There are many opportunities when interacting with students, parents, community members, and staff to model respect and cooperation. To do so should be considered an important educational activity of the school.

Reinforcement

Positive reinforcement of positive behavior is one of the best documented and most powerful principles of education. A school day provides innumerable opportunities for applying positive reinforcements. Reinforcement can be, and should be, both formal and informal. Formal recognition of accomplishment in race relations was often cited as a key dimension of effective programs. The achievements reinforced may be—and should at least include—small steps toward good race relations: breaking a barrier in problem solving; recognizing a concern of minority students; showing interracial respect.

Facilitation

Modeling and reinforcement are principles based on psychological and educational research. Facilitation is an administrative principle that is no less basic to achieving results. For example, choices have to be made in schools about providing facilities, time, space, and support. Among all of the ideas for action that get put forward in a school only a few can be so encouraged. Hence, a decision by administrators to facilitate a particular action is a key decision.

Some examples of how actions in support of successful integration can be facilitated are these:

1. Provision of in-school time and meeting rooms for human-relations activities.
2. Provision of activity periods when not all students can remain for after-school extracurricular activities.
3. In a particular instance, a group of teachers designed their own program of individualized instruction. By agreement with the principal, in-service training time for the year was devoted

to this purpose. Space and facilities for after-hours and weekend work were also made available.

Roles and Responsibilities

Perhaps more than any other educational process, integration involves the whole school and all of its activities. It tests the effective functioning of the organization. Since integration pervades extracurricular as well as curricular activities, informal as well as formal interaction, unplanned as well as planned events, it requires close attention to organizational functioning. All members of the organization must understand and help to formulate their own roles and responsibilities.

Establish and communicate responsibilities for the participation of each staff member in the integration process.

Specific responsibilities are assignments, such as committee memberships, chairperson duties, sponsorship of student activities, and liaison duties. General responsibilities entail discussion and understanding of the effect of day-to-day activities of teaching, administering, advising, and disciplining on the success of integration.

The principal is the most important person in successful integration. Probably the most frequently cited factor in the success of schools is the leadership of a dynamic and dedicated principal. The principal has a double role and responsibility: educational and executive. As an educator, the principal leads the process of establishing curriculum policy. The positions taken by the principal have a great influence on teaching materials and methods. The

principal also has educational responsibilities to the faculty, both in excercise of the supervisory function, and in providing opportunities for professional development. In relationships with both students and faculty, the principal is the most effective and visible modeler and facilitator of good race relations.

The executive roles and responsibilities of the principal encompass all of the school's activities. They include responsibility for initiating and supervising goal setting, policy making and implementation, coordination of efforts, representation of staff and students, and community relations. In each of these functions, there are decisions to be made and carried out. These are the activities that determine what kind of organization a school will be. In these activities the conditions and practices that affect integration are largely determined.

Faculty members have direct personal responsibility for the kind of teaching that gets done. The goals of effective integration pervade the choice of teaching material, teaching methods, and teacher behavior. In a real sense, the teacher is a part of the curriculum, since the teacher's behavior is observed and learned by all students.

Faculty leadership also determines school policies and practices. Although principals have responsibilities for the general direction of school policy, it is the faculty who have professional knowledge of curriculum material and teaching methods. Thus, it is also critical that faculty members lead in organizing and carrying out human relations programs, in-service training, and similar organized projects.

Similarly, the central administration has key roles in determining the approaches of the district as a whole. Since this handbook deals with integration at the school level, little has been said about the central administration.

It must be recognized, however, that the administration contributes in a major way—positively or negatively—to a school's success in integration. Perhaps most critical is the administration's role in staff recruitment. The cooperation, if not the leadership, of the central administration is needed to achieve the all-important goal of staff integration. More generally, the support given by the central administration to the school in its integration program will be an important factor in its success.

Students also have roles and responsibilities in the integration process. Particularly in high schools, students play leadership roles in student activities and student government. There are rather dramatic examples of schools in which the organized efforts of students were crucial in developing effective programs of integration. In several instances, these efforts were self-initiated: with support and some channeling from the administration and faculty, the students developed some of the most effective programs and practices. In other cases, principals took the more active role in marshaling student support. When such efforts were successful, a large and influential segment of the students internalized the goal of good race relations and devoted great energy and ingenuity to achieving it. This kind of organized student participation is probably essential to effective integration in high schools, and at least desirable at the elementary level. The emergence of motivated student participation is perhaps the first clear sign that educational efforts are working.

Finally, mention should be made of a special role and responsibility. Discipline is a responsibility that is often assigned to one particular person in the school, often a vice principal, but sometimes a counselor or student advisor. That person has a major impact on the process of integration. In

discipline, the requirement of equity and nondiscrimination stands out clearly, and policies and practices are highly visible and of high interest to students. The need for cultural sensitivity is also particularly great. If there is discrimination in discipline, it will be known to the students. If there is insensitivity, it will create resentment and frustration.

The remaining sections of this handbook present recommendations along with examples and discussions of concerns. There are two chapters, one pertaining to elementary schools and one to high schools. The division is both convenient and meaningful, since there are enough differences in the social contexts and in the problems to merit a specific focus on each level of school. In the real world, however, problems do not divide so conveniently. There are many situations that are similar in elementary and high schools, and a participant in one can profit from the perspectives of those in the other. We have tried to avoid repetition, even when problems and principles are similar. Therefore, we suggest that users of the handbook read both parts, and categorize the ideas in ways most helpful to them.

Chapter 3

Integrated Education in Elementary Schools

The most common--almost unanimous--response about racial equality in the elementary schools in our study was this: "We treat all students alike; we pay no attention to color." The day may come when that statement can be underscored as a recommendation to all schools, but that day has not yet arrived. Paying no attention to color, i.e., to ethnic or cultural differences, is self-deceptive and nonproductive. It hides problems by failing to acknowledge them and, thereby, fails to take action to overcome them. A good, hard look at color in our schools can sensitize us to the inequities and inequalities which exist and enable us to take firm action toward improving education for students of all backgrounds.

In all the schools in our study inequalities did exist. To be poor and black increased the likelihood that elementary school students would be in a school where the principal, teachers, and students disliked integration. It increased the chances that the students would be taught by a teacher with poor racial attitudes. It increased the likelihood that the teachers would perceive racial differences between black and white students along a number of dimensions. It increased the chance that the students would be in classrooms where much of the time was spent in warning students to pay attention and scolding them for misbehaving.

Elementary schools can act simultaneously to improve race relations and academic achievement. Statistical results indicate that in elementary schools those goals, quite fortunately, overlap. School practices which are associated with one are often associated with the other, and the attainment of one increases

the probability of attaining the other. On the following pages we shall describe some of these effective schools and the actions they took in the areas of the curriculum, achievement and grouping, multi-ethnic teaching, home and school relations, rules and discipline, staffing, and principal's leadership.

Curriculum

The broad rubric of curriculum covers all planned school activities including--in addition to courses of study--organized play, athletics, dramatics, clubs, and programs to enrich studies. Both the formal curriculum and extracurricular activities provide school-supervised opportunities for students to learn positive things about members of other racial or ethnic groups.

The Formal Curriculum

The curriculum content in an integrated school should be multi-ethnic. In the schools with positive race relations, black and white students were more likely to have learned about black people during their school studies. Minority students were more likely to have requested ethnic studies. Teachers were more likely to have discussed race in their classes. And libraries were more likely to contain books and materials reflecting black culture.

Ethnocentric materials and textbooks still exist in our schools and, perhaps, predominate. Educational materials that present minority history and culture and that respect racial diversity are increasingly available. Their use has manifold advantages. For white students, increased knowledge of black people is strongly associated with improved racial attitudes. For black students, an integrated curriculum instills racial pride, provides heroes and role-models, and accompanies improved attitudes toward school as well as

improved racial attitudes. Successful integration requires the personal sense of worth and feeling of equality that come about as minority groups are recognized and integrated into every phase of education--including the textbooks and materials in the curriculum.

Inspect readers, textbooks, workbooks, libraries, and resource materials to determine whether curriculum materials are multi-ethnic and integrated.

Multi-ethnic materials and texts are those which cover more than one racial or cultural background. At the time when desegregation plans were beginning to affect schools, ethnic and cultural materials began to be added to schools and school libraries. Africa became a new focus in the social studies curriculum of elementary schools. Black music on records and tapes made its way into schools. Books on black history and black leaders became available. Such material can help to make a curriculum multi-ethnic, but it does not insure that the curriculum will be integrated.

To be integrated the elementary curriculum must incorporate minorities and minority contributions into its readers, textbooks, and materials in a way that is not separatist. The social studies textbooks, for instance, should give coverage to black people in the United States, their history, culture, and contributions throughout their coverage of United States history. Such textbooks imply strong adult sanction for integration.

Develop both long-range and short-range plans to assure that the curriculum will be multi-ethnic and integrated.

Long-range plans. To acquire all the books and materials for a fully integrated curriculum could be an enormously expensive undertaking. Its cost, however, should not be a deterrent to the development of a long-range plan to achieve that goal. Priorities need to be set so that the acquisition of appropriate integrated textbooks in the areas of greatest concern--e.g., social studies texts, primers, and readers--is recognized as a major goal.

> *As old textbooks are phased out of the curriculum, select replacements with consideration for the objectives of an integrated curriculum.*

Ten quick ways for analyzing children's books are presented in a publication put out by the General Assistance Center for Equal Educational Opportunity at Teachers College, Columbia University.[1] The publication--Multi-Ethnic Curriculum in the Schools--contains four monographs of interest to principals and teachers selecting children's books.

Short-range plans. Recognizing the immediate need to provide a broader ethnic base to the curriculums offered in integrated schools, some administrators, principals, and teachers in this study initiated procedures to supplement the regular curriculum.

A school district in California had a district-wide Human Relations Committee consisting of one representative from each of its schools. That committee undertook to develop a calendar which recognized and discussed people and events representative of many racial and cultural backgrounds. The representative from each school was responsible for distributing the calendar to

[1] A.H. Passow, W. Halliburton, B. Banfield, and A.V. Schwartz. Multi-Ethnic Curriculum in the Schools. New York, N.Y.: General Assistance Center for Equal Educational Opportunity, Teachers College, Columbia U., 1975.

the faculty and staff within the school. Some of the teachers used the calendar as part of their regular opening exercises. Other teachers used the calendar information to supplement curriculum units which they were developing.

In another school, the principal and teachers provided the opportunity for resource persons from the black community as well as the white community to visit the school and interact with the students periodically throughout the year. Resource people included a lieutenant from the fire department, a police officer, a letter carrier, a dentist, a physician, a professor from the community college, and others. As part of their training for good citizenship, students became acquainted with a racially mixed sample of community leaders.

Some states have mandated minority history or culture courses for teacher education and/or certification. Some teachers have voluntarily taken college courses to learn about or brush up on black history or culture. Some of the schools in our study have conducted in-service teacher training or workshops on minority history. Teacher familarity with minorities, their history, culture, and contributions is a prerequisite to implementing the integrated curriculum.

> *Provide teachers with multi-ethnic materials and with in-service training or workshops in black history and culture. Encourage teachers to form human relations or multi-ethnic committees to provide leadership for implementing a multi-ethnic curriculum.*

The most ambitious effort at a multi-ethnic curriculum was attempted by one of the effective elementary schools in the study. Located in a university city in a Midwestern state, the school has a racial composition of 25% black, 75% white. The school, under the direction of the principal, became one of the

model schools in the government-funded project administered by the university. The Multi-Cultural Curriculum Project has been in operation in the school district for three years and in this particular school for two years. The project's final package will be a new curriculum guide for elementary schools. In this school, the project is having a pervasive effect, right now, on the lives of everyone. The principal, who was instrumental in bringing the Multi-Cultural Curriculum Project to the school, described it as "the most important factor in good race relations at the school." She set the goal of effective integrated education for the school and worked by example and precept to direct all school activities toward that goal.

A consultant from the university project is at the school three days a week. The consultant meets with the Multi-Ethnic Committee in the school to plan ways in which the school can implement a multi-ethnic curriculum. She knows the location of resource persons and can obtain their services for the school. She advises the librarian and the teachers on multi-ethnic materials and can obtain materials for the school's use. She meets regularly with teachers who are planning curriculum units and sometimes helps them in the classroom. She does in-service planning and in-service training related to the multi-ethnic curriculum.

The district has mandated that all teachers must have ten hours of multi-ethnic training, five on school time and five on personal time. In this school, the teachers spend much more time than that. All participate in multi-ethnic in-service workshops; many of them also serve on the Multi-Ethnic Committee. They make use of multi-ethnic materials in their day-by-day teaching and planning. They take advantage of the special resources available through

the project consultant. They are a group of professional and dedicated teachers who have acquired a deep cultural sensitivity.

The children benefit directly, not only because their teachers are using a multi-ethnic approach to teaching, but also because there is a wealth of multi-ethnic materials available in the school from coloring books reflecting the history of Ghana to booklets of multicultural poetry. The total life of the school is affected by the multi-ethnic project, its philosophy, its resources, and its materials.

Extracurricular Activities

Some of the elementary schools in our study provided a program of extracurricular activities after the formal school day was over; most did not. Some schools provided a period of time for extracurricular activities within the framework of the school day; many did not. Where schools provided opportunities for extracurricular activities, some saw to it that equal opportunities existed for black and white students' participation; some did not.

Positive interracial contact is one of the goals of integration. That contact can occur both in the formal classroom environment and in extracurricular activities. Our data show that working together and playing together increase the likelihood that both black and white students will have good racial attitudes.

Provide opportunity for positive racial contact through extracurricular activities.

Time and money are serious considerations in attempting to establish or increase the scope of extracurricular activities. Efficient use of time and the use of volunteer help can partially overcome these problems and can help

to provide increased opportunity for positive interracial contact. At a minimum, schools might be able to structure physical education and playground activities such that racially integrated groups of students could participate in games and sports with a feeling of team spirit.

One elementary school in our study allowed students to earn a "fun day" on Fridays and thus acquired extra time for increased interracial contact in a nonacademic setting. Academic workloads for students were established on Mondays under a contract system. Students received points for each project completed and were to acquire a predetermined number of points during the week. Those who reached their total by Thursday were allowed a Friday "fun day." The system caught on and worked so well that rarely did a student fail to celebrate the special day. The students were highly motivated to accomplish their assignments and enjoyed their reward of a day free from traditional school work.

An elementary school located in a Northern city had a very successful Ecology Club for its older students. The club was sponsored by a black science teacher with the help of a white assistant faculty advisor. The club's rules required that the membership of the group be integrated. The club has had paper drives, aluminum can drives, clean-ups, a garbage can painting contest, a "dirty picture" contest (snapshots of pollution in the area), cookie sales, and a June playday.

The principal of a Southern elementary school in a small separatist community was concerned that the students had nowhere to go and nothing to do after school. Many of them hung around the school grounds for a place to play. The principal undertook to organize an afternoon program. For the younger children there is an hour-long program which ends as the older students are dismissed from school. Then there is a two-hour program of activities for the older students. The program is well integrated—a big plus in a community

where students seldom have any interracial contact outside of school. The afternoon program is in effect five days a week and offers a wide variety of activities each day including arts and crafts, music, dancing, drama, cooking, sewing, woodworking, and all kinds of team sports. The program was started with volunteer effort and continues to be run with a voluntary staff. There is now one paid staff member who coordinates the activities and recruits and schedules the volunteers. These leaders are for the most part local citizens--both black and white--but also include university students, teachers, and the school janitor, who has a woodworking class and coaches a team. The afternoon program offers the opportunity for much positive interracial contact among students in a setting where black and white adults are sanctioning their interaction. It is an example to the whole community for good race relations.

Whatever the scope of the extracurricular activities a school can provide, care should be taken to allow for equal opportunities for the participation of all students. Time, money, and grades are sometimes barriers to equal opportunity.

> *When the school provides for extracurricular activities, make sure that equal opportunity and encouragement exist for black and white students' participation.*

Bussing sometimes restricts equal opportunity. Students who must take the bus and are therefore not able to participate in afternoon programs do not have equal opportunity. This can be a serious problem in a school, especially if the bussed students are a racially identifiable group. Although the school may not intend discrimination, the possibility is strong that the school will be perceived as having poor racial attitudes.

The monetary cost of participation in group activities may prevent equal opportunity and thus restrict positive interracial contact. A Northern school in our study provided no extracurricular activities itself, but actively recruited students for afternoon programs at the "Y." The cost was moderate by middle-class standards, but prohibitive to the lower-SES students. In the latter category were included all of the school's black student population. Again, the intent of the school may not have been racial separation, but the opportunities for positive interracial contact were severely restricted.

In another Northern elementary school, students could participate in after-school activities only if they had reached a certain level of academic achievement. Students who had lower grades were systematically excluded from participation in the extracurricular activities. In practice, this requirement resulted in racial differences in extracurricular participation and deprived both eligible and ineligible students of the opportunity for interracial interaction.

Eliminate restrictive eligibility rules and provide equal opportunities for all students to participate in extracurricular activities.

Achievement and Grouping

The differences between black student achievement scores and white student achievement scores which have occurred in other studies, occurred in this one also. Black students' average scores were lower than white students' average scores. This recurrent finding has been used by some as a whip to fight

integration and by some as an excuse for a dual standard of expectations, effort, or involvement. Both attitudes are defeatist. They shut the doors of opportunity to groups of students for whom the doors have never yet been fully opened.

Real differences in academic achievement will, of course, exist among the students in a school regardless of whether they are white or black. When these achievement differences are perceived as racial differences, however, the concept of integrated education is in trouble. Methods of achievement grouping may accentuate or diminish the problem of perceived racial differences.

Achievement Grouping

The practice of achievement grouping frequently produces a dilemma in integrated schools where integration is new or the racial composition is changing. There are advantages to be gained by achievement grouping. It permits some degree of adaptation of instruction to the individual pupil, maximizes teacher and student interaction at the learning task, and minimizes unrealistic comparison among students of different achievement levels. Some very successful schools used quite traditional methods of achievement grouping. Achievement tests and teacher evaluation determined the level of curriculum for each child. However, when used effectively, such a procedure generally did not produce an observable racial imbalance. All levels of the curriculum were integrated.

On the other hand, achievement grouping of classrooms may produce racially identifiable classes within some schools. There are a great many unfortunate consequences that can result from grouping procedures which isolate black and white students. Achievement grouping can serve as a cover for the perpetuation of segregated practices or for resegregation. An upper-middle-class

white school in the Midwest offered spaces to a special-education unit composed primarily of black students during a time when new boundary lines for school attendance were being drawn. The addition of the special-education unit brought the school's black/white ratio into apparent balance and precluded the need to change its boundary lines. The school was statistically desegregated, but the goal of integrated education was circumvented.

Achievement grouping may, in some schools, produce racially imbalanced groups. Such a situation can relay a message to students and others that education is different for minority and majority students. When achievement grouping results in separation and labeling, the situation becomes even more acute. Disproportionate numbers of black children in "slow" classes, or in special education or remedial reading programs can lead to charges of discrimination from the black population and poor racial attitudes, including racial stereotyping, on the part of the white population.

Determine whether ability grouping procedures result in racially identifiable groups.

There can be no single right method of grouping students. The prime requirement is a plan for making and reviewing decisions in a way that is objective, open, and sensitive. Since conditions differ substantially from school to school, the most effective approach will be a problem-solving approach that is responsive to specific school conditions. The goal is to match the student to the curriculum so as to maximize academic achievement and also the opportunity for positive interracial contact.

Let us suppose that achievement grouping of classrooms and a method for selecting students' class assignments have been proposed for a particular

school. A series of questions is in order. The first question is: Does the proposed grouping result in racially identified groups? In many cases, it does not. If there are no groups composed disproportionately of black or white students, the grouping itself likely will not produce problems associated with perceived discrimination.

If the proposed grouping does result in racially identifiable groups, the next question is: Is the method for determining groups or classifying students accurate and fair? In some cases, standardized achievement or ability tests are used to assign students to groups. In these cases, there is a danger that cultural bias or language problems will result in misclassification of some students, and that the scores on such tests are insufficiently diagnostic to guide beneficial placement. A practice of continuous performance appraisal of individual students will generally be more effective. Some schools have set up referral systems so that assignment of students to any sort of special or remedial program which separates them from the mainstream of education requires the consensus of a number of individuals. In one school four separate professional assessments were required. Such safeguards to an assignment procedure would seem advisable under all circumstances but especially when such assignment results in the appearance of racial isolation or racial resegregation.

Determine whether assignment procedures or student classification procedures are accurate and fair.

Where the procedures are fair and accurate but racially identifiable groups result, the school must decide whether to maintain the groups intact or not. Some schools maintain the groups and have no problems. They may or may not try to provide for positive interracial contact in other areas of the school life

not related to academics, but they choose to give greater emphasis to the goal of academic achievement.

Classroom Organization

Where schools decide not to maintain ability groups intact, there are a number of alternative ways to organize the heterogeneous classrooms to accommodate students with a wide range of abilities. Each variety of classroom organization has its adherents. Each variety has amassed a record of individual successes or failures. Research has no definitive answers about the circumstances under which each organization is most effective or the areas in which each is most effective. These methods of organizing include:

Team-teaching. This organization more generally occurs in the upper elementary grades and represents a position halfway between the usual self-contained classrooms of the elementary school and the flexible scheduling of the high school. In one elementary school on the West Coast approximately 90 students were assigned to three teachers at each of the grade levels from 4 to 6. There were three classrooms with folding walls that could open or close so that the three classes at any one level could be separated or be together. The three teachers at any grade level worked closely together to provide three levels of math and reading during the morning. One teacher might teach the highest group in math and the lowest in reading. Students moved flexibly from homeroom to reading to math and back to homeroom. In the afternoons , the upper elementary teachers were departmentalized; teachers taught their favorite subjects, providing again for three levels of difficulty. The system's advantages include flexibility of movement, which precludes the isolation of groups and allows racial contact; and a curriculum with three levels of difficulty for each subject area. A possible difficulty is the

breadth of teacher interactions with students which may reduce the depth of interaction with any one.

In the lower elementary grades a similarly flexible concept of organization might be the open classroom. Many adults are available as teachers, and there may be considerable movement of students from one location to another. A large measure of self-selection in the choice of activities may be allowed.

Self-contained classroom with ability grouping. This is the traditional organization of elementary schools. A single teacher may have thirty students of varying ability levels. Each class in an integrated school may have roughly the same percentages of black and white students. Students are grouped into three levels of reading or math. While the teacher works with one reading group, the remaining students are completing assignments. The model's advantages or disadvantages include a heterogenous grouping of students for interracial contact combined with achievement grouping which may or may not follow color lines.

Self-contained classroom with individualized instruction. Again a single teacher, with or without an aide, may be in charge of thirty students of varying ability, but in this case each student has a program of study geared to his own ability. The program may or may not operate under a contract system between the teacher and the student. In one such classroom observed in our study, nine tables of two to four students each worked busily with a quiet hum of conversation. The teacher was working on grammar with three students. An aide was providing help to students who raised their hands. A parent volunteer was reading with one of the slower readers. Races were mixed at each table; all children were busy. The advantages of the system are obvious: a suitable curriculum and flexible heterogeneous grouping. A possible disadvantage is the tendency toward isolation of individuals. Students spend much less

time working together in this system and generally spend less time in interaction with the teacher.

Determine what opportunities exist within the present or proposed classroom organization for maximum achievement on the part of black and white students. Determine what opportunities exist for positive racial interaction. Weigh both goals in the light of the school's specific circumstances and decide on the best method of organization for the school to adopt.

Multi-Ethnic Teaching

Teaching in integrated elementary classrooms should reflect the dual goals of academic achievement and good race relations. Even the most sensitive professional educator might, at times, have problems coordinating and combining these goals, since it is all too easy in the day-to-day work of education to emphasize one at the expense of the other. To the extent that teachers can incorporate both goals into their own classroom behaviors, they become more effective at integrated schooling.

The Teacher and the Curriculum

The teacher who has a knowledge of the cultural and historical backgrounds of the school's minority as well as majority students has a decided advantage in an integrated classroom. Teacher training in these areas has already been recommended to fill the need which exists when the school's books and materials are not multi-ethnic and integrated. But the training is also strongly recommended as a prerequisite for ready reference to black leaders and open discussion of racial issues in the classroom.

Our data show that class discussion on race and projects dealing with intergroup problems are found in the more effective integrated schools. These practices are associated with good racial attitudes and good achievement of both the black and white students. The teacher who sanctions race as a topic for discussion or a focus for classroom projects demonstrates a respect for cultural diversity and helps to give equal status to black and white students.

Deal openly with race and racial issues in the classroom.

To do this most successfully, one needs to recognize and be sensitive to the strengths and weaknesses of one's own racial attitudes. Deep down, some are afraid—afraid of certain characteristics of individuals of another race, afraid to offend somebody of another race, afraid of being able to handle a discussion of race, or perhaps afraid that it is impolite even to mention a person's color. Consider the principal of a Northern integrated school (25% black) who, in two separate interviews for our study, mentioned race specifically only once in each interview. To an older white female interviewer he mentioned "the...uh...uh...colored"; to a young black female he spoke of "the... uh...Negro." Embarrassment at the topic of race or color is a put-down. It implies shame. But some educators <u>are</u> embarrassed. Some <u>are</u> insecure.

Bring up the topic of race at a faculty meeting.

Even if the issue of race or color makes school personnel nervous or uncomfortable, the issue should not be avoided. If the problem remains covert, there is no chance to solve it.

If many teachers feel uncomfortable, plan a course of action.

Would talking about it help? Would the mastery of subject matter help?

Are white teachers--and black teachers--familiar with black history and culture? Perhaps in-service training would help to assuage feelings of insecurity about subject matter. Perhaps a human relations committee could be formed to plan a program and locate resource persons. Perhaps somebody at the district level could help. With the faculty taking a constructive problem-solving approach, some steps toward a solution might be found. A teacher should be able to approach classroom interaction on the subject of race with little or no discomfort. It is an important step toward good race relations and integrated education. Where teachers can discuss race openly with fairness and sensitivity, students can do the same. The model is there for students to emulate. When a teacher feels comfortable with the topic of race, the teacher can handle that topic successfully in the classroom.

A black teacher with fifteen years of experience in a Northern center-city elementary school takes his responsibility for good race relations very seriously. In his own classes he faces racial issues squarely. Early in the school year he engages his students in group drama. He, himself, acts the part of the "new white kid" in the school. He selects two black students as his white parents and three white students to play his black friend and his friend's parents. He then poses questions such as "What will the parents say to the child who has brought home a friend of a different race?" When racial epithets are used, laughter usually follows. The teacher and students openly discuss racial attitudes.

Most of his students obviously like him and enjoy talking with him. When he encountered a student who seemed to dislike him, he tried to give the student

a special responsibility that would allow the two of them to interact. If he noticed students of different races who seemed upset with one another, he tried to get them working together on some project. When an unhappy white student reported that her parents hated her having a black teacher, he started dropping into their store on Saturdays for a cup of coffee. For the older students in the school he organized a club which he continues to sponsor. The club's membership is well integrated and will remain that way according to the by-laws which the students themselves wrote.

Clearly, this teacher took his responsibility for good race relations seriously. He felt comfortable with the subject of race and was an example to his students: i.e., a model for good race relations. He also provided many opportunities to his students for positive racial interaction by his practice of assigning black and white students to work together. Our study shows that when students are assigned to work together and play together they are more likely to have good racial attitudes.

Make student assignments affirmatively to promote interracial contact.

Teachers can use class projects both as a means for sorting students into multi-ethnic groups and individualizing work to meet particular needs. In making posters, for instance, integrated groups of students might be assigned tasks such that the poor reader does the research. When poorly achieving students become the substantive experts for the group, equal status becomes less of a problem and slow readers gain more experience.

Teachers might assign projects where integrated groups of students develop their own multicultural materials for use in the social studies curriculum. Again there is the opportunity for interpersonal involvement in a multi-ethnic group and enhanced self-concept from becoming a

"mini-expert." This type of project also allows more attention to local and regional figures than is possible in regular texts.

Use small group projects as opportunities to promote inter-racial contact and multi-ethnic learning.

An ambitious school-wide project designed around the open discussion of racial and ethnic differences was undertaken by a Midwestern school. In March of 1975 they had their first "multi-ethnic happening." The happening grew out of teacher discussion in a multi-ethnic in-service meeting on the affective areas: e.g., student pride and pride in the school. The staff agreed to plan their studies in such a way that from January through March each class in the school would study the different ethnic groups which were represented in the school. Students and teachers would study these groupsin depth: preparing art work and costumes, learning dances, eating ethnic foods, inviting speakers, watching films, learning songs. Parents would be used as resource persons. There would be total school involvement. This intensive effort would be followed by an all-school event to which parents would be invited.

Three months passed in a hum of activity. The happening turned out to be very successful. More than 90% of parents attended. Classrooms and hallways were filled with projects and there were continuous programs throughout the evening in the auditorium and gym. But it was more than a successful event. It was the culmination of a school's effort at multi-ethnic teaching.

The Teacher and the Classroom Climate

In the elementary school a teacher generally has more influence over

the lives of the students than at any other time in their education. During these early years attitudes are formed which may in part determine children's futures. The attitude toward school, for instance, is one which is closely related to the school's goals of academic achievement and good race relations. For both black and white students a good relationship with the teacher is important. When students report that their teachers like them, they are likely to report good attitudes toward school and good school racial attitudes. Negative teacher behaviors--such as blaming, warning, and scolding are strongly associated with negative attitudes toward school and the perception of negative school racial attitudes...as well as low achievement.

Maximize positive interactions with students. Minimize time spent warning students to pay attention and scolding them for misbehaving.

Warning and scolding are accepted methods used by all teachers at some time or another to control student behavior. Too frequent use of these methods, however, sets a negative tone to the classroom and creates an unpleasant atmosphere for learning. It makes the teacher a model to the students of negative behavior rather than of positive, reasonable behavior. There are other--gentler and more motivating—ways to control students' behavior and channel them into more productive efforts. Some of these methods include:

Pointing out a model. "I like the way Sam is working. He really paid attention." (Implying others should be working too.)

Giving feedback information. "It is getting so noisy in here I can hardly think." (Implying the need to think at this time.)

Giving feedback with a reason. "If we are too noisy, we'll disturb the people who still have work to do."

Requesting the status of expected goals. "Have you finished the arithmetic assignment? Then did you do your reading?"

Requesting a reason. "Mary, why are you out of your seat?" (Implying work to be done if there is not a good reason otherwise.)

Citing a general rule. "You know we're not supposed to bother one another while we are reading."

These methods have in common the potential for changing student behavior without promoting a negative atmosphere for learning. They tend to keep the attention of students on the goal to be achieved rather than on misbehavior. Instead of being authoritative, they are reasonable; that is, they state or imply reasons for the desired behavior. They educate students into acceptable patterns of behavior without putting students down.

In some schools teachers and students seemed to have a shared sense of responsibility for the work of the classroom. This shared sense of responsibility develops as students come to know what is expected of them in the organized schedule of the school day. They learn to know what work they have to do, what time to do it in, and how to obtain help when it is needed. They learn they are expected to complete assignments, and they learn the rewards of accomplishment. The parallel responsibility of the teacher is to organize the classroom day so that challenging work is provided, specific time is assigned for completion, and the system for obtaining help is established. In making assignments the teacher's expectation should not be limited by the student's initial motivation to achieve. Maintaining higher expectations orients students toward greater achievement. The teacher must take care not simply to reward the highest achievers in the class but to reward the highest achievements of each student in the class.

By organizing the school day around student achievement, using more gentle methods of controlling student behaviors, and emphasizing positive rather than negative interactions with students, teachers can help to create a classroom climate which encourages students to have good attitudes toward school and leads them toward the goals of academic achievement and good race relations.

Home and School Relations

Parents make a difference. They can motivate students to achieve and thereby reinforce the work of the school--or they can fail to do so. That difference makes a difference to students. Where more students report that their parents have visited school at least once during the school year, both black and white students have better racial attitudes and achieve more. Where black parents visit the school, the racial attitudes of white students are better. Since parents make a difference, the school would be well advised to examine the strengths and weaknesses of its relationships with families. In particular we will examine in this section the areas of home and school communication, home and school cooperation, and home and school confrontation.

Home and School Communication

Few schools would disagree that it is important to establish home and school communication. Even those schools which have given up any effort toward formal parent organizations such as the P.T.A. have an open-house early in the school year or communicate by sending information home with the student. In the light of the data from the present study it would seem important to the

student that the school initiate or maintain a system for home and school communication.

Parent communication should be set up to be rewarding to parents, students, and teachers alike. Meetings which are informal, personal, and positive, and which emphasize student accomplishments, seem to be universally well received by all parents. More formal parent organization meetings appear to be generally less well attended. They sometimes become partisan, representing special-interest groups. They may be very effective in dealing with school problems, e.g., raising money for special projects or bringing pressure to bear on school boards, but they appear to operate less well as the medium for the major communication effort between teachers and the parents of students.

> *In advance of the opening of school, devise a plan for home and school communication. An effective plan will allow for initial contact between the teacher and parents very early in the school year followed by two or more programs for home/school communication during the school year.*

One purpose of the initial contact is to inform parents of the goals and plans of the school with regard to their students. The second--and equally important--is to establish rapport with the family, to set the stage so that the home and school can work together. Informal lines of communication should be set up. The parents should know how to contact the teacher and the teacher should know how to contact the parents. Conditions under which teachers might want to contact parents or the parents might want to contact the teacher should be discussed. Parent questions and concerns should be answered. Teachers

should discuss future meetings with the parents so they are prepared to participate and enjoy their children's participation in those events.

Not all parents will attend the initial meeting, and the pattern of attendance may be biased in favor of middle-class students. In general, low-SES families tend to participate in school functions to a lesser degree than the middle-class families do. Systematic differentiation in the ability and desire of parents to attend school functions may be at the root of this recurrent finding. Psychological barriers to participation exist as well as other barriers which might be more easily overcome. Parents without a strong formal education may feel uncomfortable in the presence of professionals. Such conditions are unlikely to change unless schools take the initiative in an educational process designed to convince parents of the school's interest in their help.

Communication is also affected by more physical restraints. Parents of bussed children live farther away from school. If transportation is not easily available, parents of bussed students may not be able to participate as easily as those within walking distance. Thus, whether the family owns a car may affect the rate of attendance. The hours a parent works may also determine the family's participation. The composition of the family, e.g., whether there are preschool children or not, may predispose a family toward participation. The single parent may have less flexibility in his/her schedule because of having to serve in multiple roles. Funds for babysitting may not be available. Whether the family has a telephone similarly affects potential communication. All of these barriers to home and school communication systematically discriminate against low-SES and black families.

Take action to contact personally all parents who fail to attend the initial meeting of students, parents, and teachers.

The purpose of the contact will remain essentially the same as before, with two exceptions: (1) The teacher may need to try harder to establish rapport and an informal communication system; and (2) the teacher should attempt to determine what, if any, barriers to home/school communication exist. Knowledge of barriers can be used to revise plans for further contact. Meetings might be changed to a more convenient time or an additional meeting time arranged. Babysitting facilities might be provided or transportation arranged.

Assess the barriers to communication. Determine what actions might be taken to increase the participation of all parents.

This step is especially important when a group of parents, identifiable by race, is not participating. In our study, the difference in level of participation between parents of black and white students was strongly associated with poor student racial attitudes for both black and white students.

Home and School Cooperation

Once effective home-and-school communication has been established there are many ways in which the parents can help the school and the school can help the parents. Communication sets the stage for reciprocal aid.

If there is a formal organization of parents in the school, such as a PTA or human relations council, it is important that the membership and officers of that group reflect the racial and cultural backgrounds of the student body. If the group is not representative of the ethnic mix of the school, it is not a model of equal status or good race relations.

Survey the school's parent organizations. If any major ethnic group is underrepresented, take positive action to enlist additional representatives.

Parents strongly supporting the school not only serve as a good model to students but, with the cooperation of school personnel, can help students in other ways. There are as many ways as people with imagination. Determine the areas of school need in which parents could be genuinely helpful and offer them the challenge.

Apart from the formal parents' organizations, most schools in our study routinely enlisted the aid of parents in problems involving the students. In one school, the principal and teachers were as likely to go to the child's home for help as to request the parent to come to school. This happened because, in the low-SES community, few parents had telephones. Communication was further restricted because of the lack of transportation. If a child became sick or missed the bus, the principal or teacher would drive the child home. If a child were continually not dressed warmly enough or if an incident occurred for which a solution seemed to require parental help, the school went to the home. At the door, parents were asked whether they could help and if they would prefer to discuss the problem at their home or at the school. The genuine concern of the teachers and the principal for the students was apparent to the families and they often worked out mutual problems.

When barriers exist to prevent home-and-school interaction, take the initiative in eliminating the barriers.

Again this is especially important if the barriers affect one racial group more than another. By extending itself to the home, the school

demonstrates that all students and all parents are targets for concerned action.

Several examples of the school's cooperation with working parents were uncovered in this study. Numbers of school personnel reported coming to school early so that children of working parents would not have to remain alone or be entrusted to the care of other children. During the winter, school was often opened early so that students would not have to remain outdoors. A principal, concerned that many of her students went home to an empty house, undertook to organize an afternoon program with volunteer help so that the children would have some supervision. Another school--with a large group of low-SES families--established a sewing center. Babysitting was provided and mothers were taught to sew. The mothers enjoyed the opportunity to get together, and the skills they acquired enabled them to dress their children well on little money.

Investigate ways of making school facilities useful in meeting the special problems of working parents.

This effort might be especially important in schools where class and race differences coincide.

Home and School Confrontation

The picture was not always so bright. Sometimes the interaction between the home and school was based on anger rather than friendship. There are great differences in the way schools handle such problems. Although generally the principal did feel responsible for dealing with parents, some principals refused to deal with an angry parent; they avoided immediate confrontation with the excuse of a busy schedule. The confrontation was postponed, although

usually it was scheduled for a later time when tempers might be calmer. Some principals, however, did see angry parents immediately and took a responsive role in dealing with the parent's anger. They tended to give in to parent demands, thereby avoiding conflict. Other principals took a more problem-solving approach. They listened to parents, presented the different perspectives (sometimes calling in relevant people to present their points of view), identified the specific problems, discussed alternative solutions, and arrived at joint decisions for implementation.

In an integrated school there is the potential for all issues to be perceived as racial. A racial issue can evolve from almost any school policy or practice. If the practice is not perceived as equitable--if it imposes greater hardship on one group than another or results in racially identifiable groups--the potential for conflict exists. Where racial conflict already exists in the community, the potential is that much greater.

Black parents have reason to be disturbed with schools. Our data show that in 1974 students who were poor and black were more likely than middle-class and white students to be in classrooms where teachers were prejudiced, school personnel disliked integration, black students and parents had little influence, teachers perceived differences between black students and white students in many areas of school activity, and teachers spent more time warning and scolding students than on race-related projects or class discussion. Black parents have also felt the status difference which sometimes occurs between white and black parents. Differences in black and white parent participation in school events are associated with poor personal racial attitudes on the part of black students.

White parents have reason to be disturbed also. They fear changes which

may adversely affect their children. "Their" schools have traditionally been receptive to the desires of white middle-class families.

Caught between two opposing points of view, the school must develop its own policies and practices consistent with the goals of good race relations and academic achievement. At the time of major changes in the racial composition of the school, it may need to develop new policies. At all times the school must be ready to institute changes in policy, to improve it, and make it more equitable.

Take, for example, the problem of parents' requesting a change of classroom assignment for their child because of the race of the teacher. Schools that seemed to be equally effective differed in the method of implementing policy but generally preferred not to make transfers because of race. Some schools lost white students to private schools because of a very firm position on this issue. Others were more subtle. One principal routinely insisted to parents that the child remain in the assigned class for at least two more weeks, making an appointment to meet with parents again at that time. By then the child might have adjusted to the teacher and settled in with the other students, and the problem might have taken care of itself. What is important is that the school policy be equitable and perceived as fair by parents of minority groups as well as the majority.

Where there are long-term concerns about the fairness of school policies or practices, a school may need to take additional action.

> *When there are parent (or community) concerns about the equity of school policies or practices, form a multi-ethnic advisory group of parents to help establish policy.*

Such a group needs to be action-oriented and have a goal to work toward rather than merely be the sounding board for discontent.

Rules and Discipline

A teacher's fairness to black students and to white students is a major component of students' perceptions of the schools' racial attitude. The principle was stated frequently by respondents in the interviews.

> "It's the rule of my classroom and the rule of the school stressed by the principal."
>
> "The children are disciplined the same for the same infraction. The punishment fits the misdeed rather than the child."
>
> "Good administration may be responsible for this. Workshops and meetings have been held where problems such as the disciplining of children were discussed. They were very helpful."

On the other hand, there is continuing concern that the principle of fairness is not uniformly obeyed.

> "White teachers are prejudiced against blacks. The problem still exists because nobody cares. Black students get punished more often than whites."
>
> "They (adults at the school) make a racial problem out of most conflicts."

A minimum requirement is that equal punishment be meted out for breaking rules. The rule about no fighting was mentioned quite often. Both parties were to receive the same treatment--no matter who started it. The severity of the punishment was different in different schools. In a Southern

school, where the principal's office was decorated with art masterpieces, copper teakettles, plants, books, and two rocking chairs, the principal explained her policy.

> "We don't get many fights any more. The children know we don't like them. But I had two boys in here a couple of weeks ago. I sat them down in those rocking chairs and told them they were old enough to work this out themselves. I walked out and slammed the door a little so they would think I was mad. And they rocked. And they though it out."

The principle of equal punishment for equal offense is necessary but not sufficient. In some schools black students may get punished more often than white. Do relatively equal proportions of black and white students get punished for infractions of the rule? Dress codes from some years back tended to be discriminatory. Rules about hair length were generally aimed at white males; Afro rules were generally aimed at black students. Although dress codes have tended to disappear, some rules may be in force which still are perceived as discriminatory. The use of "bad" language was sometimes mentioned as a problem associated with class or race.

> *If punishment for the infraction of a rule appears to be associated with race, determine whether the rule is equitable.*

Is there something in the background of the racial group which might predispose a child to this type of behavior? If so, punishment for that

"normal" behavior is, in a sense, discriminatory and certainly may be perceived as discriminatory. Cultural sensitivity should guide the school to its position.

> *De-emphasize those rules which are associated with differential rates of punishment for blacks and whites. When rules are de-emphasized, implement a plan to re-educate students into more acceptable behavior patterns.*

One area of bad language was seen as having more problem potential than any other--the use of racial epithets and slurs. In one school a teacher reported:

> "There is a lot of interaction between the kids--they call each other honky and nigger. Mostly it is a joking thing...You do see more black and white kids fighting than white and white or black and black."

In some schools the use of racial epithets tended to line up sides, and incidents were seen as racial by students and even by administration and faculty. Race itself may or may not be the real issue; racial epithets are often weapons used in disagreements with a "plain old ordinary" cause. In one school the major antagonists were quickly separated from the group and taken to the guidance counselor's office, where they talked things out. In another case, the incident was talked out in the classroom with the whole class participating in a discussion to determine whether calling names was a useful thing to do.

Some schools seemed to be especially effective at damping down the

racial component of such incidents and transforming the incident into a learning experience. At least part of the reason for this ability seemed to lie in the professional attitudes of the faculty and administration. They themselves did not become emotionally involved. They were secure in their ability to handle such problems. They had talked it out among themselves.

Discuss in a faculty meeting the student use of racial epithets and develop a rational approach for dealing with the situation.

Staffing

In many of the elementary schools in our study the following conditions existed: The principal was white. The teaching faculty, if integrated, was underrepresented by black teachers; i.e., the proportion of black teachers was substantially lower than the percentage of black students. The rest of the faculty (librarians, guidance counselors, etc.) and the clerical staff may or may not have had black representation. The janitor was black. Under such conditions the racial composition of the school is a model of white supremacy. Black faculty members in such a school are often forced into positions of increased responsibility without increased status--expected by the administration to help discipline black students, expected by black students to stand up for them. If integrated schools are to set an example to their students of good racial attitudes and good race relations, they need to have equal-status representation for black and white personnel at all levels. Of course, in an

elementary school with one principal, administration cannot be represented by both black and white membership. Nevertheless, the school should be aware of the need for both black and white representatives. Check out the racial composition of administration, faculty, and staff of the school. Does it generally reflect the racial composition of the school? Are any major racial or ethnic groups underrepresented? Do members of major racial or ethnic groups have jobs of equal status?

Develop long-range recruitment plans which assure the opportunity of hiring black or white staff at all levels and which move the school toward integrated, equal-status staffing.

Principal's Leadership

The elementary school is a social organization whose effectiveness is related to its leadership. The principal of an elementary school is the single, most influential model for good race relations in the school. Not only does the principal serve as a model to the faculty and staff but to the students as well. Our data show that the principal's racial attitude is strongly related to the racial attitudes of the teachers in the school and to the support for integration existing in the school. The principal's attitude is also significantly related to the racial attitudes of the students in the school.

The principal is not only an important model for good race relations, but also the person whose actions most influence the school. The most effective principals in our study were those who took strong leadership positions to influence achievement and race relations in the school environment.

They took firm action in: (1) setting goals for the school, (2) planning and evaluating progress toward the goals, and (3) problem solving.

Goal Setting

In a Southern elementary school, located in an integrated, low-income neighborhood in the center of a small city, there is a principal with a history of dedication to integration. As a teacher in the all-white school before integration was mandated, she took initiative in bringing black students from the neighborhood into her sixth grade classroom. A year later, as the new principal in the school, she was the first in the city to integrate black teachers into the faculty. Some years later, at the time of court-ordered desegregation, when the major change occurred in the student population, the faculty was already integrated and her goals for the school were already set. Indeed, she had set high goals for herself personally, about which she had some misgivings initially. Would she be able to know the black families as well as the white families? Could she understand family backgrounds, recognize family resemblances, and remember family names? She could and did. Her investment of twenty years of working in a low-income, integrated neighborhood has paid off. Personnel at the school are proud that it was the first to integrate students and the first to integrate teachers. The teachers are high in their praise of the principal for her concern about all children, and the students--black and white--have good racial attitudes and good achievement.

This principal had goals which she, personally, believed in and which she made explicit for the school. She believed in and modeled good race

relations, and she insisted that the rest of the school should do the same. She believed in quality education for both black and white students and worked toward that goal with the cooperation of her faculty and staff. The establishment of goals on which all members of a school focus is characteristic of effective schools. However, principals vary enormously in this aspect of leadership.

Many principals assume their faculties already know the goals of the school and therefore fail to exercise their responsibility for leadership in goal setting.

Establish academic achievement and good race relations as EXPLICIT goals for the students and the school.

Some principals passed on to teachers at the beginning of the year goals which had been established outside of the school; e.g., by the central administration. In those schools, the principal and teachers were likely to respond to questions about goals with comments like "Wait a minute. I've got them here somewhere," or "I know we discussed that at pre-planning. Let's see if I can remember." If the faculty has to think backward for their goals or has to search for them in desk drawers, the goals probably are not serving a worthwhile function.

The principals in our more effective schools communicated their goals by their actions. In a Northern school, where the principal was determined to improve the academic achievement of the lower-SES students in the school, the teachers reported:

> "She's a strong leader. She definitely has a strong influence over all her teachers. She comes into the classroom a lot. She asks questions, makes suggestions or gives ideas

> and we appreciate the feedback. She knows what is going on--she was a master teacher. She is concerned that we all do our very best and that kind of demand for excellence keeps us on our toes. We respect her professionalism."

Communicating the goal of good race relations may also be done continually through the principal's actions. In a school district outside of the South--where black teachers were less well represented on school faculties than was generally true in the South--one of the very effective principals in our study agitated for black teachers for the school. She visited the homes of black and white students. She was observed by her teachers spending just as much time talking to the new black students as to the more familiar white students. Her teachers reported:

> "There's no doubt where she stands with regard to race relations. She came from a predominantly black school where she was assistant principal. She loves all kids--black or white--and she does not tolerate any discrimination in this school by anybody. She is very open about that."

Planning and Evaluating

Goals are valuable to the extent that actions are taken to achieve them. Planning is necessary to make the goals operational; i.e., to establish specific actions to be taken. Evaluation is necessary to establish whether the actions are, in fact, moving the school closer to its goals.

> *Devote at least one planning session very early in the school year to the development of a plan of action to meet the goals of good academic achievement and good race relations.*

In a school on the West Coast, far-reaching results grew out of such

planning sessions. The school wanted to improve achievement. The students who attended the school were a mixed lot who tended to enroll and leave at unpredictable times. After much discussion, information gathering, advice from others, and consultation with parents, the principal and his faculty elected to go to a year-round school program.

The year-round school was composed of four ten-week sessions of regular school with a one- or two-week intersession between each session. The intersessions, which were not compulsory but were sometimes recommended, could be used for enrichment or remedial work. The year-round system provided that the school be closed for one week between each session, so students and faculty had, at minimum, four weeks of vacation each year. By not attending a two-week intersession, students or faculty could have as much as three weeks' vacation at one time--but no more than that.

The principal and teachers felt that the year-round system had several advantages for their students. New students had an easier time phasing into this system of schooling, where catch-up time was frequently provided. Since the system was continuous, the students had little time to forget, and teachers did not have to spend as much time in reviewing. The system allowed slower students an extra six weeks for remedial work and provided enrichment opportunities for all students. The only complaints--and these were few--were from families with children in other schools not on a year-round schedule. The complaints involved convenience to families and did not involve criticism of the educational advantages to the students.

At a planning session in a Southern school, the principal and teachers considered the list of goals provided to them by the central administration. With those goals in mind, together with their own goals for integrated

education of high quality, they established a list of specific goals and subgoals for themselves and their school. They printed the list and gave it a central spot on the faculty bulletin board. The bulletin board was used as a quick communications device among the faculty, and notes frequently appeared recommending books, materials, or practices which teachers had found helpful in achieving one or more of their goals. At monthly faculty meetings, the principal and teachers reviewed their goals and their actions and attempted to evaluate their progress.

Set time aside regularly for the principal and faculty to discuss and evaluate the progress which has been made toward meeting their goals.

Formal evaluation procedures offered valued assistance to many school staffs. Several schools attempted to better their own scores in state or district testing programs. One principal reported that she knew her school would be among the lowest in academic achievement when scores were reported, but she would feel successful if the school had improved on its scores from earlier years. If the children could read and write a little better, if their arithmetic scores had improved just a bit, all the effort the school had taken to improve academic achievement would have proven worthwhile. The principal expected no instant miracles but hoped for steady, slow improvement.

A Midwestern school principal felt that she could use feedback from a formal evaluation of race relations at the end of her first year as principal. She put together a short, multiple-choice questionnaire designed to tap sentiment about leadership, goals, and programs for the newly integrated school. One version of the questionnaire was given to each of the teachers to fill

out anonymously. Another version was sent home to parents. The results helped the principal clarify the steps needed during the following year.

There are several fringe benefits which can accrue when the principal and faculty design and evaluate a plan of action for good achievement and good race relations. Working together toward a common goal can enhance open communication, build a spirit of cooperation, and provide professional support for innovative ideas. These benefits are probably more likely to happen when planning and evaluation sessions are characterized by a problem-solving orientation.

Problem Solving

In the second year of our study, principals and teachers were interviewed about race-relations problems which might have existed in their schools. Before the interview began, a list of possible problems was given to each respondent, who checked whether or not that problem had occurred. Quite often, effective schools were likely to admit to having more problems. Less effective schools reported fewer problems.

There are two ways to explain the difference. Perhaps less successful schools are less sensitive to problems; i.e., they simply do not see them. Or perhaps less successful schools see the problems but are less willing to bring them into the open and thereby admit their existence. Both positions are major roadblocks to problem solving, but the second is more serious. In some schools, identifying a problem is treated as an admission of failure. Under such conditions, problems tend to remain covert and are seldom discussed. Actions to overcome a problem are taken on an individual basis, and no concerted effort is made. In other schools--where problem solving is regularly used as a technique for improving the professionalism of the faculty and

staff--problems are overt. The faculty is attuned to problems, discusses them openly, considers alternatives for solving them, and takes action, perhaps on more than one front.

One of the schools in our study had made such effective use of this problem-solving technique that the principal had difficulty answering questions about whether problems had existed. She finally handed over the list of possible problems to the interviewer. She was perfectly willing to tell what had happened in the school and what had been done about it, but wished to leave the decision to somebody else as to whether it had been a problem.

In order to identify potential problem areas for integrated schools, a list of diagnostic questions has been prepared. Such questions can give a school the opportunity to identify areas in which action might need to be taken.

In a faculty meeting, use the accompanying diagnostic questions to identify potential problem areas.

The questions may be duplicated and the forms given to all faculty to complete anonymously. Where that is not feasible the questions might be circulated before a faculty meeting or read aloud at that time.

The questions are worded so that, in our opinion, the better answer is "yes." Every negative response indicates a potential problem and should be the topic for open discussion. The discussion should not stop with a determination of whether the problem exists or how severe it is. Since negative responses indicate potential problems, participants should discuss solutions in light of that potential. To anticipate problems and take action to avoid them is perhaps to prevent some from happening.

Elementary School Diagnostic Questions

Topic: The Multi-ethnic Curriculum

Questions:

Do primers and readers contain minority characters?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Do primers and readers portray situations in which minority characters have equal status roles with the majority?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Do social studies texts contain information about black leaders and black people?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Do American History textbooks cover black Americans?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Does the music curriculum--or chorus and band--cover the music of black people?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Does the library contain books and materials dealing with black history and culture and the contributions of black Americans?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Does the school have a plan to systematically replace old texts such as readers and social studies texts with integrated textbooks?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Have all teachers attended black history or culture courses?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Does the school have a multi-ethnic Committee or a Human Relations Committee concerned with the issues of integrated education?	Yes ☐	No ☐

Topic: Extracurricular Activities

Questions:

Does the school program provide for extracurricular activities?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Can students attend extracurricular activities without regard to grades earned?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Are bussed students able to attend as readily as non-bussed students?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Are extracurricular activities free of cost or free to those who cannot afford to pay?	Yes ☐	No ☐

Topic: Achievement and Grouping

Questions:

Does every class in the school come close to reflecting the ratio of black to white students in the total school? Yes ☐ No ☐

Where students are assigned to remedial or special education programs which remove them from the mainstream of students, does the referral system provide for the consensus of several professionals? Yes ☐ No ☐

Does every student spend a large part of the school day in a challenging course of study? Yes ☐ No ☐

Does every student have the opportunity for positive interracial contact with equal status? Yes ☐ No ☐

Topic: Multi-Ethnic Teaching

Questions:

Do administrators and teachers discuss race openly in faculty meetings? Yes ☐ No ☐

Have there been any assemblies which dealt with race? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do teachers discuss race with students in the classroom? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do teachers make assignments such that black and white students work together? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do teachers praise all students for their accomplishments rather than praising only those who accomplish the most? Yes ☐ No ☐

Are teachers equally friendly with their black students and their white students? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do teachers try to avoid warning or blaming students and scolding them for misbehavior? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do students spend the major part of the school day involved in learning? Yes ☐ No ☐

Topic: Home and School

Questions:

Do teachers know the parents of their students?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Have all parents visited the school?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Do as many black parents attend school functions as white parents?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Have teachers attempted to find out what barriers keep parents from involvement in school activities?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Is there a parent organization in the school?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Does the parent organization have a membership representative of all major racial or ethnic groups in the school?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Do black and white parents have equal status in the parent organization?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Do teachers visit the homes of parents who cannot get to the school?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Does the school have an even-handed policy for handling parent requests such as changing students' classroom assignments because of the race of the teacher?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Where community opposition to integration exists, have black and white parents been involved in helping to develop a school policy on racial issues?	Yes ☐	No ☐

Topic: Rules and Discipline

Questions:

Are white students equally likely to be punished for breaking the rule as black students?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Are the rules perceived to be fair by black and white teachers and students?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Is the general reaction to student misbehavior rational rather than emotional?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Are students who disobey rules helped to understand the reasons for the rule and guided toward improved behavior?	Yes ☐	No ☐

Have teachers and administrators discussed rules and discipline together? Yes ☐ No ☐

Is there general agreement among the faculty as to disciplinary procedure? Yes ☐ No ☐

Topic: Staffing

Questions:

Is the faculty integrated? Yes ☐ No ☐

Does it generally reflect the racial composition of the students in the school? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do black and white personnel at the school have equal status? Yes ☐ No ☐

Topic: Principal's Leadership

Questions:

Has the principal articulated the goals of the school? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do teachers know the goals of the school? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do those goals include good academic achievement? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do the goals include good race relations? Yes ☐ No ☐

Is there a strong planning and evaluation component built into faculty meetings? Yes ☐ No ☐

Is there time set aside for the principal and teachers to discuss problems together? Yes ☐ No ☐

Are discussions of problems action-oriented, i.e. is the major emphasis on finding alternative solutions? Yes ☐ No ☐

Chapter 4

Integrated Education in High Schools

High schools and elementary schools share important characteristics and problems in matters of racial integration. The goals of good race relations and high achievement are equally relevant to elementary and secondary schools. The need for planning and organizing for effective integration is shared. Teaching methods and curriculum that are geared toward effective integration are equally important at all levels of schooling. Almost all of the recommendations made for elementary schools are equally pertinent to high schools, although the details of their implementation may have to be altered to be responsive to the high school context.

There are also specific conditions in high schools that are related to the fact that students are older and the organization larger and more complex. These conditions present problems and opportunities that are unique to high schools. This chapter focuses on these special problems and opportunities. The considerations in this chapter are those that high school personnel must face in addition to--not instead of--the concerns of elementary schools.

The School as a Social Organization

High schools have a number of special characteristics that influence the integration process. First the age and developing abilities of the students require that they take an active role in the process. This involvement will occur whether the school staff desires it or not. The objective for the school staff must be to make the active involvement of students in integration a constructive educational experience and a positive contribution to good race relations.

A second characteristic that makes high schools special is their organizational complexity. Students vary extremely in values, goals, motivations, and participation in the educational activities of the school. Teachers have, and need, a high degree of autonomy in responding to diverse student needs. As compared to elementary schools the factors influencing student attitudes and behaviors are numerous and complex. The work of a high school demands an extraordinary degree of coordination and communication. The challenge to the integrated high school is to perform that coordination and communication in the service of effective interracial education.

The primary responsibility for coordination belongs to the principal. Make effective integration a basic goal in formulating and communicating school policy.

One of the most evident factors that we observed in successful integrated schools was the principals' constant and visible dedication to the goal of successful integration. They expressed this in different ways. One, in particular, who was much admired by students and faculty, took a charismatic-activist approach. He came into a racially tense situation and contributed great effort to working with all groups. He emphasized the value of the school as a special, multi-ethnic place, and was said to "win around" persons of widely differing points of view. Other principals have taken a more traditional organizational approach. In all kinds of formal and informal communications, they emphasize and model the ideals of equity, respect, and dignity. The style can be adapted to the person and the situation. The dedication and its communication are essential.

If such a goal is paramount for a principal and for many other people in the school, there are myriad opportunities for modeling, reinforcing, and facilitating positive race relations. Two particular classes of activity are particularly important in developing effective integration: communication and the handling of rules and discipline.

Communication

The importance of good communication is stressed often by successful principals. Schools need a variety of channels for getting information to students and from students. An example illustrates the effectiveness of successful communication for solving a potentially serious problem. A dispute arose in several high schools in a city regarding closing hours. Students in two high schools had "walked out," and rumors were spreading. Some students were encouraging a walkout in another school. The following actions were planned and carried out.

1. The principal announced over the loudspeaker system that the problem was being worked on and that he was asking the entire Student Council to attend a meeting that day with the superintendent. He asked everyone to remain in class until the Student Council returned and reported.
2. The Student Council (one student per homeroom) met with the superintendent without the principal.
3. When the Student Council returned to school, they met with the principal and assistant principals in the cafeteria and discussed the situation.
4. The principal called students back into homerooms, and Council members went to homerooms to report.

Apparently, the substantive problem was handled (and resolved) at the superintendent's level. The principal's method for handling communications within the school was successful in maintaining calm and preventing a walkout.

The principal made a point of praising students publicly for their behavior.

Specific methods of dealing with communication problems are discussed in detail in the section on student human-relations activities.

Rules and Discipline

Rules and discipline are always a point of contention in high schools. They are a ready-made forum for racial conflict and for the expression of tensions and frustrations from many sources. A newly integrating high school, or one characterized by racial tension, would do well to conduct a thorough review of and revision of rules and disciplinary codes. Even in schools where issues have not explicitly arisen, we found instances in which rules and codes were stated and administered in ways that invited discrimination and confrontation. Most schools would profit from a careful, goal-oriented review of rules and codes.

Three areas stand out as sources of interracial and interpersonal problems: issues of equity and discrimination in discipline, rules which discriminate--or are perceived to discriminate--against minority students, and rules that take the place of--and sometimes serve to block--the development of self-discipline and constructive informal norms.

Equity and discrimination. It is frequently charged that black students are disciplined more severely than white students for the same offenses. The charges are frequently true. Instances may be blatant or subtle, conscious

or unconscious, deliberate or incidental. Disciplinary authority is an all-too-ready mechanism for expressing racial animosity, and students are in no position to defend themselves. Such discrimination probably happens in a minority of instances; it probably does not happen as often as is charged. But it does happen, in at least occasional instances, and can be expected on occasion unless there are carefully monitored procedures to prevent it.

Discrimination can also work the other way. Black students may be allowed to get away with acts that white students are punished for. Whether this results from animosity toward white students or (more likely) from lower expectations of black students, it is also discrimination. Discrimination in discipline is both a symptom and a cause of serious problems.

Recognition that such abuses occur does not imply that the school as a whole or most staff members condone or practice discrimination. Any integrated high school should take specific steps to make sure that discrimination is forbidden and violations are detected and corrected.

Articulate a four-part policy with regard to rules and discipline.

(a) *State publicly and unambiguously all rules and the consequences of breaking them. (Many schools, for example, have a policy that fighting results in suspension, regardless of cause or who-started-it.)*

(b) *Follow stated policy to the letter. The administration should take direct responsibility for reviewing disciplinary actions to make sure that this happens.*

(c) *Spell out the disciplinary responsibilities and limitations of every staff member. (What rules are teachers responsible for enforcing? What options do teachers have for interpreting acts as violations or nonviolations? What disciplinary measures may teachers take? What disciplinary measures may they not take? Similar codes are needed for administrators, coaches, paraprofessionals, and others with responsibilities for for discipline.)*

(d) *Provide opportunity for appeal and review if students feel they have been treated unfairly.*

Discriminatory rules. Even if punishments are administered equally for equal offenses, the definition of an offense may involve discrimination. The clearest examples occur in connection with dress codes. When we were gathering our data, there was an issue in several places concerning when men could wear hats. Dress codes prohibited hats indoors. Black male students maintained that hats worn indoors were accepted in their culture. Issues such as this create conflicts between school rules and feelings of racial identity, often accompanied by peer pressure. The specific issues are impossible to predict; they vary from time to time and from place to place. It is very easy to assume that a practice that is customary in the majority culture is the correct way of doing things, and thereby to place special demands on minority students. Charges that such discrimination exists should be taken seriously.

Review rules with input from minority group members to assure that they are not culturally discriminatory. Unless there is interference with other students or clear

disruption of educational activities, cultural differences should be tolerated.

Rules and self-regulation. When one visits a number of high schools, the disparity of approaches to rules is striking. Some schools state few rules and keep them simple and basic. Others have elaborate legalistic codes. It seems to make very little difference in the conduct of students which approach is chosen. What seems to make a greater difference is the degree to which students have adopted and internalized norms of behavior. The development of such norms is itself a learning experience, and over-elaborate rules can interfere with it.

Direct each rule that is part of a school code to the attainment of an important objective; for example, an educational goal, a safety measure, or compliance with law.

Give students opportunity and encouragement to participate in the formulation and adoption of rules and in the development of less formal codes of conduct.

Student-Focused Human Relations Activities

Most of the schools we visited had at some time taken positive steps to build and maintain good human relations. Emphases varied in the extent to which human-relations activities were specifically directed toward problems of race relations and integration. Most activities attempted to improve human relationships in general but paid special attention to interethnic relationships because such relationships often became a focus of human-relations problems.

Attempts to involve students actively in human-relations development tend to focus on several discrete functions. One frequent focus was on initial training; these programs tended to take place in early stages of integration or during periods of racial change. They focused on interpersonal sensitivity, on attempts to understand and accept intercultural differences, and on facilitating communication. These activities tended to be short-lived--designed and carried out as part of the initial stages of interethnic education. A second focus was on the solution of immediate problems. Often perceived as a method for crisis resolution or crisis prevention, these activities tend to be rather specifically focused and to fade away--either by decision or neglect--during times of relative tranquility.

Plan and conduct human-relations activities as ongoing, multifunctional components of a school program.

Emphases can be expected to vary from week to week and from year to year. If they become an expected and trusted component of a school's program, they can have short-range effects on the quality of interpersonal interaction and long-range effects on the education of students and the climate of the school.

The key component of a human-relations activity is a group of students with responsibilities for planning, decision making, and liaison with faculty and administration. Ways of coordinating roles of students and staff members are discussed later. This section emphasizes the organization of a student committee. We use the term human-relations committee to refer to such a group of students. Names and modes of organization vary widely. In several cases several such groups were active in the same school.

Two major patterns of initiation were noted in the schools we studied--student-initiated and principal-initiated. One of the most elaborate and apparently successful programs was initiated by students as a function of student government. The Human Relations Council was made an arm of student government coequal with councils responsible for student activities and social events. The principal encouraged the student government in this activity, and established a good working relationship, but expressly recognized the autonomy of the Council as an arm of student government. Another successful human-relations committee was formed at the initiation of the principal, who participated actively in all of its deliberations. Selection of the committee and its chairperson was the responsibility of students. The principal defined bounds of decision-making responsibility for the committee but retained the authority to review.

> *Arrange for members of the Human Relations Committee to be selected by students, by a mechanism understood and accepted by the student body.*

Some principals we interviewed preferred to appoint some or all members, in order to prevent wide departures from school policy or use of the Committee as a forum for student politics. These problems may be real in some schools. It appears that they are better handled by the principal's active participation in the Committee's work and by a clear delineation of authority and responsibility than by exercise of the authority to appoint. Selection by students has several advantages. It avoids the appearance of manipulation, creates an expectation of responsible performance and accountability, brings new perspectives to the

process, and encourages wider participation. The specific method for selection might vary depending on school traditions. Direct election has worked well in some instances; appointment by a student senate might be effective in some schools.

The chairperson or other officers should be selected by the Committee itself, or directly by the student body. Principals may retain veto privileges but are wise to exercise them sparingly.

Provide for a committee membership that represents all majority and minority groups in the school.

Since the work of the Committee will frequently focus on racial issues, equal representation of minority and majority members seems to be more effective than balancing in proportion to the student body. If the school's composition is such that equal representation would not normally occur, there should be guidelines and selection methods to insure equal participation. Some examples of such selection methods are:

--Each homeroom elects a black and a white member for the Human Relations Committee.

--Each class (freshman, sophomore, etc.) selects one from a slate of black candidates and one from a slate of white candidates.

--In a school whose student body is approximately equally divided among several ethnic groups, open elections are held. Student government officers are sensitive to the need for ethnic balance on the Committee, and work to achieve balanced slates of candidates.

There should be explicit recognition of the critical role of the chairman and other student leadership, and steps should be taken to equalize leadership among the races. Possible methods are (a) co-chairpersons of different races;

(b) chair assigned to different races in alternating semesters; (c) election of the chairperson by the Committee with consideration of the need for balance. One school has a stated policy that the student government president and Human Relations Committee chairperson should usually be of different races; it allows exceptions, however, when the Committee feels that race relations are better served thereby.

The areas of responsibility of the Committee should be clearly delineated.

> *Arrive at a public understanding of what decisions the Committee can and cannot make and what kind of review there will be.*

One committee was given the responsibility of designing a procedure for student elections and honors to insure racial fairness. The principal set as initial guidelines: (a) there must be biracial representation in all student activities, and (b) proposals must be submitted to the entire student body for discussion and feedback. Within those constraints, it was agreed that the Committee had the authority to make the final decision.

It is to be expected that an effective Human Relations Committee will play many roles in the life of a school. Explicit recognition of several special roles are readily recognized and provision of methods for carrying them out can greatly facilitate the Committee's effectiveness. One important role is that of communication. An effective Human Relations Committee is surely a natural channel of communication between students and staff members and between ethnic groups. The Committee should be active in this role, seeking out opinions and concerns rather than merely waiting for communication to happen. Here are some methods that have been used effectively:

1. Grievance committee. One Human Relations Committee formed a grievance committee. Students could file a grievance, saying anything they wanted. When a grievance came through, a copy would be sent to the principal, and the committee would ask for his help. If the grievance involved a teacher, the principal decided whether to handle it himself or to forward the grievance to the teacher in question. The grievance committee followed up all grievances.

2. Minority council. A multi-ethnic school set up a council specifically for communication with minority students. The purpose was to get feedback about concerns of minorities. For example, at the suggestion of the minority council, the school began having two bands at dances--one appealing to white students and another appealing to black students.

3. Open meetings. In several schools, there are scheduled open meetings at which any student may present problems. Principals and other staff members often attend, to both listen and respond.

4. Committee members as communication channels. A stated policy in one school is that a student may raise a problem with any member of the committee. The member will always bring up the question with the committee and report back to the student. The Human Relations Committee will transmit concerns to the principal or other staff members when appropriate. If requested, one or more members of the committee will sit in on meetings between students and staff members.

5. Opinion surveys. Human Relations Committees may either initiate polls on issues and concerns or cooperate with the staff in collecting and interpreting the results. Formal communication mechanisms like these are important. Equally important is the willingness of members to be alert to all opportunities and needs for communication.

Provide training in communication skills for committees as needed. Assign responsibility for training to the administration and faculty.

Often it is sufficient for the committee to discuss throughly its responsibilities in this area. Orientation meetings with human-relations specialists from the state or city education agencies can be especially valuable.

Provide many channels of communication for the Human Relations Comittee rather than few. Recognize explicitly the responsibility for following through on communication.

The committee also may render effective assistance in problem solving. A Human Relations Committee, for example, can provide a natural and valuable mechanism for solving two kinds of human-relations problems: those that arise as unexpected crises and those that are less sudden and more long-range.

Crisis Problem Solving

In several incidents, members of the Human Relations Committees were effective in calming confrontations and avoiding serious conflict. If the committee has been successful in establishing itself as a communication channel, it will have two major advantages: it will have established its credibility as a communication channel, and it will have relatively accurate perceptions of student moods and concerns.

There are roles that a committee can serve uniquely both during and after a crisis. Committees should understand these roles and have procedures for putting them into effect quickly and efficiently.

During a crisis.

1. Gather information on exactly what is happening; how many students? where? doing what? The administrative staff needs to know these things quickly in order to plan a response. Students can obtain information more quickly and accurately than teachers or administration can.
2. Establish the committee and its members as an immediate channel of communication. All members should have a way of calling a meeting quickly; offering to do so quickly can change the nature of a confrontation.

3. As a channel of communication, committee members can:

   --Work informally as individuals to give and get information about grievances and attitudes.

   --Participate in meetings between students and staff members; attempt to clarify communication between them.

   --Arrange meetings for discussion. Conduct meetings with both decorum and concern, away from the scene of uncontrolled confrontation.

   --Set up and maintain a rumor hotline.

It is important that the administration and faculty understand and accept the committee's role in these kinds of situations. The administration should model respect for the legitimacy of the committee's role and confidence in its judgment. Administrators and teachers should not expect committee members to be adjuncts to the staff--should not expect them to try to break up crowds or inform on leaders, for example. Rather, the committee and school staff should strive to agree that their role is to prevent exacerbation of the situation and deterioration of social relations. Thus they can provide a better chance of achieving good human relations, fairness to all concerned, and redress of legitimate grievances.

Early in the school year, reach an agreement between the principal and the Human Relations Committee on a statement of the Committee's roles and responsibilities during crises.

After a crisis. A crisis usually ends ambiguously. Participants may have different perceptions of promises made and agreements reached. Administrators and faculty members may have different opinions about disciplinary actions and preventive measures. Following up is an important responsibility

of both the principal and the Human Relations Committee. There are a number of contributions that a Human Relations Committee can uniquely make.

1. Clarify sources of conflict. It frequently happens that different issues get melded in the heat of a confrontation, or that conflict over a specific issue brings up underlying problems. In one instance a conflict that was substantially concerned with a specific assembly program revealed widespread dissatisfaction among black students over lack of minority culture courses. The Human Relations Committee can examine the complex of issues and communicate positions and feelings in both directions.

2. Be alert to what's happening in the aftermath. As one principal pointed out, there is always an aftermath. Sometimes students not involved in an initial encounter "follow through" with further disruption or disciplinary infractions. Frequently, curiosity or concern on the part of students who don't know what's going on leads to further assembly and confrontation. We learned of several instances of "secondary confrontations." These cases began with a gathering of students of one racial group, which was followed hours or days later by a gathering of the other racial group. Among the motivations expressed were desire to know what was going on, fear of a fight, and desire to get equal treatment. The communication activities of the human relations committee should remain geared up to facilitate dealing with these kinds of issues.

3. Identify underlying issues for long-range problem solving.

4. Communicate to all students through many media the nature, extent, and outcome of the events.

Ongoing Problem Solving

A key principle of this handbook is that building effective race relations is an ongoing process that involves shared responsibilities among faculty, students, and administration. Some school personnel tend to equate absence of visible conflict with good race relations. When a school goes for a year or so without apparent crises, staff members are ready to believe "we have no racial problems here."

Schools have a responsibility to strive for a more positive view of race relations. The school that is free of present conflict has all the more opportunity and challenge to achieve positive interrelations among the races. This is both a social and an educational responsibility. The school is a social institution dedicated to equal opportunity for all. It has a unique role to play in society's progress toward that ideal. As an educational institution, the school has a special responsibility to teach the concepts that its students will use as citizens in social and political life. The responsibilities imply an ongoing effort on the part of schools to be constantly identifying and solving problems of ever greater complexity and significance.

The immediate forms taken by race-relations programs vary greatly from school to school and time to time. We suspect that in the long run they boil down to the same goals: fairness and justice for minority and majority group members; mutual respect; self-respect for all; sensitivity to both ethnic heritage and common aspirations; and a shared confidence in equitable treatment.

Human-relations programs need to be active rather than passive. Interviewers were told in a great many--perhaps the majority--of the schools visited that human-relations projects had become inactive because "we no longer need them." The more effective programs did not adopt that assumption. They remained active in times of calm as well as of tension. They sought out positive goals rather than merely responded to compelling events. They took initiative toward identifying ways of advancing human relations.

Assign the Human Relations Committee continuous responsibility for ongoing work. It should have one or more focused tasks during each school year as well as its more general communication and trouble-shooting responsibilities.

One Human Relations Committee devoted most of a semester to drawing up plans for obtaining integration in school offices, honors, cheerleading squads, homecoming courts, clubs, and teams. In the process they studied the roles played by each kind of organization in the school and the needs of minorities and majorities. They communicated actively with student government, with the student body, and with the staff. They tried and rejected plans, proposed, and compromised. The immediate product was a plan that was sensitive to the feelings and concerns of the student body, the functions of different kinds of activities, and the need for internal integration. It was acknowledged to be imperfect but was accepted by students and staff as a workable and well-designed plan. Perhaps equally important were its less tangible benefits. The designers of the plan learned a great deal from the experience. They became effective in group problem solving and experienced in dealing with one another. As a consequence, their skills for future problem solving were improved. Moreover, their credibility as communicators and problem solvers was enhanced by their success in responding to student concerns. Finally, the work provided a model of effective interracial problem solving.

Among other school problems that might be or have been effectively handled by Human Relations Committees are:

1. Dealing with school symbols, school names, nicknames, banners, songs, and the like. These are frequently matters of concern when they are identified with a particular racial group. Dealing with such concerns in the concept of human-relations activities increases the chances of widely acceptable solutions.

2. Orientation of new students. Both the introduction of the entering class to the school and the assimilation of transfer students are problems that frequently have race-relations components. For example, if students come from junior high schools with different racial patterns, their adjustment to high school will depend on their awareness of the new problems and opportunities. Upperclass students who are sensitive to these issues can be the most effective mentors.

3. Planning or sponsoring social events. In one school, the Human Relations Committee sponsors major dances jointly with the student government. In other schools, the committee has its own special mixers. There are two reasons for a special role for the Human Relations Committee in social events. First, attendance and interaction at social events is an important way of fostering and symbolizing good race relations. Second, there frequently (almost always) arise issues having to do with racial or cultural differences. Examples include black and white students desiring different kinds of bands; locations being inconvenient or unpleasant for one race or the other; admission costs and expense of clothing discriminating against less affluent students. The specific issues vary widely. Often planners of the event are not even aware of the problem until feelings are hurt and confrontations arise. A Human Relations Committee should be uniquely sensitive to these kinds of issues and the approaches to their solution.

4. Preparation for changes. Forthcoming changes in racial composition of schools, particularly if accompanied by political activity and uncertainty, frequently cause anxiety among students. The planning for change requires sensitivity to student concerns and widespread participation. A trusted Human Relations Committee can make the difference between success and failure. In one community we visited, there had been a prolonged period of political and legal activity regarding school integration. Students from several high schools initiated an interschool student organization concerned with the question. The initial purpose was to have student input into the political process (which the organization eventually did with great effectiveness). The student-participants also took the concerns back to their schools, however, and became valued sources of information and leadership. The administration belatedly started a human-relations program to deal with the forthcoming changes.

5. Liaison with the community. The student-initiated work just mentioned was an excellent example of human-relations input into community decision making. In another school, the Human Relations Committee, in close cooperation with the principal,

assumed responsibilities of communicating with the community. It sent representatives to meet with ethnic community organizations and with the school board. These representatives both presented school programs and listened to points of view from the community. (A fringe benefit resulted from this activity; a speech teacher's help in public speaking was volunteered and accepted graciously. The result was some highly motivated and valuable education.) The committee also sponsored tours of the school and publicized school events. Members of the group eventually became respected school spokespersons.

Human Relations Activities -- Faculty and Staff

The evidence from our research strongly indicates that there is a relationship between good race relations and the interpersonal climate in the school. The following school characteristics are related to one or more indices of good race relations: warm relationships among teachers, students, and parents; absence of tension; absence of conflict over a variety of issues. Also pertinent to the need for good human relations is the fact that the personal racial views of teachers and principals are consistently associated with positive racial attitudes of white students.

We believe that there is a two-way relationship between student attitudes and human relations in the school. Visible positive relationships, of staff members among themselves and with students, model and reinforce good relationships among students. And good relationships among students support positive perceptions on the part of staff members. The result is a cumulative effect. Positive human relations encourage more positive human relations. Therefore, an intervention at any point of the cycle stands a good chance of producing a cumulative effect.

The need for human-relations activities was recognized in many schools. Most schools reported some degree of effort in this direction. But there was

also a great deal of uncertainty of how to go about it, and recognition of the complexity of the problem. We did not find a single all-encompassing plan that can serve as a model for all human-relations efforts. The suggestions that follow were drawn from a number of different sources; the parts have been tried with some degree of success, but the totality of the program remains to be tested.

Goals

The following goals are suggested for any approach toward human-relations activity.

1. Salience of integration. Successful integration, marked by positive race relations and optimal achievement by minority and majority students, should be a goal of high priority for staff members.
2. Intercultural sensitivity. Staff members should make a constant effort to "know where students are coming from." Differences in behavior which are understandable in relation to cultural background often produce reactions of offense and fear. Sensitivity to students' cultural characteristics can both relieve tension and promote mutual acceptance and respect.
3. The faculty's role in modeling. The faculty and staff should be aware of their importance as models of human relationships. Human relations activities should point up opportunities for modeling respect among the races.

Programs

Three different kinds of programs were described to us: sensitivity training in various forms; lecture-discussions conducted by guest lecturers; and ongoing activity run by the faculty.

Sensitivity training. This term is used in a broad sense to encompass a variety of experience-based educational training. Examples ranged from professionally conducted T-groups to informal rap sessions. In one school during early days of racial change, a group of faculty and student representatives was sent to a workshop and returned to conduct workshops in the schools.

This kind of training got mixed reviews. A number of staff members reported positive outcomes in their own attitudes and in others'. If well conducted, such sessions can provide an excellent forum for examining and understanding cultural differences and the reactions and feelings of individual students and teachers. On the other hand, there is a danger of a boomerang effect. There were several reports of staff members being emotionally hurt by direct confrontation with negative interpersonal behavior. In some cases, staff members felt that such training increased, rather than relieved, "uptightness" of some teachers.

If sensitivity training is used, arrange for the principal or another responsible person to be active in its planning and conduct. When programs are conducted by outside leaders, the principal should discuss in detail the methods to be used and should be sensitive to the reaction of individual faculty members. Follow up the results to reinforce the positive effects and ameliorate negative effects.

Lecture-discussions. Relatively formal instruction in human relations is a frequent feature of in-service training. Local and state education agencies can usually provide experienced instructors. Federally sponsored general assistance centers offer guidance based on a range of experience. These programs typically involve presentation of human-relations theory, discussions of cultural differences, and applications to classroom practices.

Again, reviews were mixed. Positive evaluations centered on insights and specific suggestions generated by the training. Negative evaluations centered on the abstractness of the content. To be effective, human-relations training must grow beyond the formal instructional setting. There should be a way of relating ideas directly to classroom and other educational interactions. Ideally there should be practice and feedback.

Maintain a continuing program of follow-up training.

Staff-conducted activity. A program in one school serves as a positive example of human-relations activity initiated and directed by the staff. The program began during a prolonged period of racial strife, and was contemporaneous with a great deal of activity on the part of the principal and of student leaders. It was a part of what appeared to the observers to be a highly successful complex of activities to improve human relations.

The program was initiated by the faculty itself. There was input from the administration, students, and school district, but the major effort was carried out by the faculty.

The initial process was described as follows:

1. The faculty chose a small committee to build a framework. The committee chose a spokesperson who appears to have taken a strong leadership role throughout the work.

2. The framework consisted of a mission and a plan for faculty workshops. The mission: "To provide a learning environment in which the staff can function professionally with unity, freedom, and personal integrity for the good of the students, the staff, and the school. To work as a team whereby [this school] reaches optimum performance."
3. At the first faculty meeting, the framework was discussed and the faculty broke into small teams, with members of the committee serving as team coordinators.
4. The teams aired their concerns in general rap sessions with no holds barred. The coordinators tried to keep the discussion positive, but allowed all comments.
5. The comments were recorded and taken back to the committee. They were discussed and organized there.
6. The committee prepared and distributed a report.

The report consisted primarily of a listing of concerns taken from the team meetings. Examples were: enforcement of present rules; elimination of unnecessary rules; interdepartmental understanding and working relationships; idea clearinghouse; idea exchange; rap center.

This process was repeated, with the groups reacting to the comments generated during the first meetings.

After the initial meetings, the Human Relations Development Committee continued to function, serving as liaison between faculty and others. There were in-service sessions on human relations with input from the school district, but these were judged less effective than the activities originated

by the school staff. "We found it best to work from the inside out rather than from the outside in."

When asked about the outcomes of the program, the former committee spokesperson spoke in terms of learning and the opening of communications rather than specific follow-up activities. Specifically, (a) the faculty learned to work with others, to be considerate; (b) most teachers who remained at the school are effective in a classroom with students; (c) the faculty came to understand that people have a right to their feelings and a right to be heard.

Perhaps the major problem to be solved in attempting such a program is building the sustained motivation to carry out the enormous amount of work involved. In this particular instance there was strong motivation arising from the school's tensions and from a feeling of "we're all in this together." Even so, trial and error were required. The spokesperson summarized the following general principles, which we put forward as recommendations:

1. Try to get everybody (students, staff, community members, policy makers) to understand the rationale of what you're doing. This requires open communication: listening as well as talking, ability to change ways of thinking, free exchange of information and opinions.
2. Know that you will go through hostility and that therefore you will need a positive approach.
3. Reinforce people with positive approaches. They need to see the results of their input.
4. Back up communication with a continuous program.

5. There must be a strong foundation that can weather problems; a philosophy, a purpose. The philosophy has to have a simplicity to it. It can't be bogged down with many rules and regulations that nobody understands.

Teaching in Integrated High Schools

The chapter on elementary schools in this handbook recommends that schools quickly adopt multi-ethnic curriculum materials, and that there be teaching practices specifically planned to involve minority and majority students in shared learning experiences. These recommendations pertain equally well to high schools. Schools whose students express positive racial attitudes and describe the school atmosphere as racially positive are more likely than others to have multi-ethnic curricula and to use teaching activities that actively integrate the work of minority and majority students.

This section outlines some specific problems and concerns that high schools have faced in the selection and use of curriculum material. It also describes approaches that have been taken to achieve more effective multi-ethnic teaching. Most of the schools studied had primarily black and white students. It seems likely that the same principles would apply when other ethnic groups are represented. We use the term "multi-ethnic" to describe school situations with a variety of ethnic compositions, although many of our examples have to do with biracial schools.

Curriculum

The first step toward a multi-ethnic curriculum is the presence and use in the school of curriculum material that reflects contributions and concerns of minorities as well as majorities. The availability of such material has increased

markedly in recent years. However, there is still widespread use of older material, and newer materials vary widely in the throughness and seriousness with which minority-relevant material is incorporated.

Review present curriculum material and replace material that does not respond to the perspectives of minorities.

A few years ago there were complaints that multi-ethnic curriculum material was difficult to obtain. There is now a wide variety of material available in many fields. The more difficult concern now seems to be one of selecting material that makes positive contributions to the academic and social goals of the school. Two problems recur regularly: identifying material in which minority contributions are treated in an integral manner, and avoiding material whose treatment of minorities is stereotypical.

Integration of minority and majority content. The experience of a Northern high school in attempting to "integrate" social studies curricula is instructive with regard to some of the difficulties that may be encountered. The school had a history of generally good race relations. When a group of black students requested that black history be treated systematically in American history courses, the principal and faculty agreed. A supplementary book on black American history was added in ongoing classes. The result was unsatisfactory from the point of view of the principal, the faculty, and the students. The basic problem, as the principal identified it later, was the supplementary nature of the new material. The new material served to emphasize the lack of black history in the regular textbook. It was perceived as being "for the blacks." Teachers found it difficult to integrate the material from the regular text and the supplementary source. Some black students felt that it was insulting to pre-

sent black history as separate from the main textbook. The implication was that the main textbook presented "regular history" and that black history must therefore be a separate topic.

The incident eventually resulted in the withdrawal of the supplementary text, accompanied by an immediate and publicized search for an "integrated" history text. The principal later felt that the incident had been resolved satisfactorily because the school had learned from the experience and because students, faculty, and administration had been able and willing to work constructively to solve the problem. The result could have been worse; the incident created the kind of situation that often produces divisiveness and tension. The satisfactory resolution probably depended on the commitment of the faculty and administration to achieve an integrated curriculum, and on the credibility of that commitment to the students.

"Separatism" of minority and majority content often exists within books, as well as in separate books. Material oriented toward minorities was often literally "added on" to old editions of textbooks, and authors and publishers vary widely in their ability to reorganize and rethink the traditional material. The selection of materials must take into account how minority-oriented material is presented, as well as whether it is presented.

> *Evaluate curriculum material to determine that material relating to minority and majority groups is presented in a manner that is integrated from a logical, conceptual, and societal point of view.*

Another concern related to integration of content in curriculum has to do with courses oriented toward minority history, literature, and art. Two points of view have been expressed in different schools. One position is

that the existence of separate "minority" courses is "another form of segregation." According to this point of view, black literature ought to be presented with other literature, black history with other history. The other point of view is that minority cultures are appropriate topics of study, and that courses in the art, literature, and history of ethnic groups have important educational value for all students.

Interviews did not resolve the issue of whether minority-oriented courses or courses with integrated minority and majority content are more successful. Different schools have encountered success and problems with both approaches. The best mix for a given school depends on the composition of the student body, the school's history of race relations, and the concerns of citizens in the community. It might be useful as a guide to look separately at required, survey, and elective courses. Required and survey courses should strive for balanced presentation of joint contributions of minority and majority group members. Elective courses may organize content logically to focus on contributions and concerns of particular groups. The decision about whether, when, and how to organize such courses should incorporate both the desires of the students and those of the professionals.

Stereotypes in curriculum material. As multi-ethnic material becomes increasingly available, questions become more and more evident on how minority-group members and concerns are treated. Many examples have been cited in which members of minority groups are described in stereotyped terms. Discussions of historical and social issues often are based on assumptions that neglect or demean the concerns of minority groups. The treatment of slavery in American history has been a particularly troublesome topic.

Biases often cited in treatments of this topic range from suggesting that slavery was passively accepted or even desired by slaves to overlooking the effects of the institution on succeeding generations of black citizens. Such material often lacks a minority's perspective in both writing and illustration. Sensitivity to such assumptions and their effect on students is crucial to the selection and successful use of multi-ethnic curriculum material.

Review actual and potential multi-ethnic curriculum material to identify cultural assumptions, biases, and stereotypes. Make sure that there is systematic input from members of minority groups.

Teaching Methods

In addition to presenting multi-ethnic teaching materials in the schools, it is possible to teach in such a way as to enhance positive race relations. This conclusion is supported both by statistical results and by the opinions of teachers and principals who seem to be particularly successful. The survey study indicated that positive racial attitudes are associated with the use of projects and discussions on racial issues, and with assignment of black and white students to work together. Interviews suggested a number of specific instances. Among the instances of multi-ethnic teaching were these:

(1) A theater group improvised skits on such themes as interracial dating, integration of neighborhoods, and generational differences in social attitudes. Often black students took roles of white people, males took roles as females, young people took roles as parents, and so forth. While the activities of the group were fairly informal, it was supervised by a drama teacher, who maintained an instructional (rather than a social or extracurricular) emphasis.

(2) A speech teacher assisted students from different ethnic groups who made presentations on behalf of a school before the school board.

(3) Writing about ethnic issues in surrounding neighborhoods was made an integral part of a journalism class.

(4) Interracial panels were assigned to analyze and criticize treatments of black characters in American fiction.

(5) Students were taught techniques of debate, which were in turn used to construct and analyze arguments on different sides of issues having to do with civil rights.

A number of other examples can be found in this report. Many of the activities discussed under the heading of human-relations activities have instructional components as well as social ones. There are many opportunities for this kind of teaching during the school day. Successful examples seem to share three characteristics: (a) open acknowledgement of race and racial issues; (b) mutual participation by minority and majority students; and (c) conditions that provide models and encouragement of equal status and mutual respect.

Create and take advantage of opportunities for instructional projects that involve minority and majority students working together in situations that deal openly with race and that reinforce equal status and mutual respect.

Internal Integration

A major goal of a successfully integrated school is integration within the school. A number of forces work toward continued separation of the races within a biracial school. Some of these are associated with school practices and policies and can be countered with appropriate action. Other

forces stem from informal social relationships and can be dealt with as educational problems.

The statistical study reveals a number of positive effects of equal participation in school activities and of equal expectations of the races. White students' perception of equality among blacks and whites is associated with their own racial attitudes and racial contact, and with black students' perception of schools as fair to them. Teachers' perceptions of equality are related to white students' racial attitudes and to black students' perception of fairness. Internal integration can stand on its own as an index of effective integration. It is also an important means toward developing positive educational outcomes.

Effective internal integration will actively take into account the principles of modeling and reinforcement. If black and white students participate in school activities with equal prestige, authority, and respect, the school becomes an effective model of interracial interaction. If black and white students are equally reinforced--by recognition and achievement--for leadership and cooperation, the students will learn the skills required for positive interracial work.

Achievement Grouping

Achievement grouping has often been a source of friction in integrated schools. It may result in separation of minority and majority students during a large part of the school day. There are a number of ways in which such internal segregation may come about. It may result from assignment of students to classes or from students' choice. It may be a result of deliberate discriminatory practice or an unintended consequence of the selection method.

Two recommendations from the discussion of grouping in elementary schools bear repeating:

> *Determine whether assignments to classes and programs result in racially identifiable groups.*
>
> *Determine whether procedures for assigning and classifying students are accurate and fair.*

Grouping or tracking does not automatically produce racially imbalanced classrooms. It is necessary to maintain up-to-date records to determine whether a problem exists. In many high schools, there is a great deal of shifting after classes begin. Therefore, it is important to monitor the racial composition of classes continuously.

The assignment of students to classes is often based on teachers' recommendations, grades, and test scores. This provides a built-in opportunity to discriminate, and a high probability that classifications will be perceived as discriminatory. There are actions that can be taken to maximize the fairness and accuracy of assignments. They include:

(a) Participation by several staff members with differing perspectives in classification decisions. Minority staff members should always participate in classification decisions.

(b) Opportunity for any decision to be appealed by a student or parent, with a specified mechanism for review.

(c) Allowing and encouraging all students to try more difficult classes.

When there is a problem of classes becoming racially identifiable, it may be possible to eliminate or reduce sharply the practice of tracking. Some high schools have done so with little apparent harm to the academic program. In some academic fields, this alternative requires other methods of dealing with individual differences, such as individual instruction and tutoring programs.

High schools have a potential problem because the selection of classes by students is partly voluntary. Students may sort themselves into racially identified classes. One high school has an effective method for dealing with this problem. Course lists for an academic year are drawn up the previous spring and students register in advance. If any class fails to attract a racially balanced group of students, it is cancelled and another is substituted. Voluntary segregation of classes is one aspect of informal racial grouping which is discussed later in the chapter in the section on formal and informal segregation.

The Goal of Equity

In social and extracurricular activities, there are many factors working against successful internal integration. These create problems that schools must face directly. Among the problems are:

1. The tendency for majority rule to neglect the interests and discourage the participation of minority students (whichever group is in the minority in a given school).
2. The tendency for a school to preserve its traditions and leadership cadre when changes in racial composition occur.

3. The tendency of some members of different ethnic groups to prefer organizations of single ethnic groups for either cultural or political purposes.
4. The tendency for informal social interactions to follow racial lines.
5. Differences and perceived differences in cultural preferences for kinds of social and cultural activity.
6. Eligibility rules that reduce participation by one race.

The following recommendations stem from the experiences of high schools in recognizing and dealing with these problems. The first two recommendations have to do with formulating and communicating the general goal of internal integration.

Establish equity among major racial groups as the major goal of internal integration.

When conflicts arise between goals--for example, between a desire for voluntary intraracial groups and the school's aim for maximal interracial activity--treat the goal of equity as the primary guide to decision.

For example, students sometimes express a desire for an all-black organization or all-black social events. If the basis for the desire is perceived lack of equity, the school should take steps to deal with the perception and the reality behind it. Such groups can make positive contributions to a school's success if they contribute efforts toward achieving equity coupled with freedom of choice for minorities. On the other hand,

they can have a negative effect if they symbolize divisiveness or move the school toward inequity. The goal of equity should be explicitly stated and communicated by the school's leaders. The principal and other school leaders should strive continually for its acceptance as a given in the solution of school problems.

It was the experience in many schools that students and faculty readily accepted the goal of equity if it was articulated and kept in the forefront as a key school objective. High school students are capable of and interested in dealing with concepts of justice and equality. When encouraged to participate in problem solving with equity as a criterion of success, a number of student groups solved problems creatively and cooperatively.

Problems are likely to result if equity is not explicity articulated as a goal. In this situation, other goals and interests may come to dominate decision making, not through active opposition to equity, but through failure to recognize effects of decisions. For example, we learned of numbers of high schools in which student voting tends to occur in racial blocks. If races are approximately evenly divided, this sometimes results in racially balanced groups of student leaders and recipients of honors. The balance occurs at the cost of political divisiveness. When racial composition is imbalanced, block voting tends to produce majority-dominated decisions. In one school, the result was a kind of informal problem solving by student leaders who selected slates. There was a kind of unstated agreement that the black minority would be represented on election slates. While this produced visible minority participation in student leadership, it has obvious disadvantages: it masks a lack of equity in the decision-making process; it legitimizes tokenism; and it neglects an opportunity to take advantage of the good will underlying the student initiatives.

In the section on student human-relations activities it is recommended that student groups be instrumental in solving problems of equity and representation. Some specific solutions are described in that section. A number of alternative mechanisms are workable, so long as the goal of equitable minority and majority representation is preeminent.

Confronting Barriers to Equity

One of the barriers to achieving equity has just been discussed: the tendency of majorities to dominate decision making. There are other barriers that vary from school to school and community to community. They should probably be considered potential problems in any school, and will become major points of concern in some.

The problem of school traditions. This problem is likely to come to the fore shortly after a change in racial composition. If "new" students come to an "old" school, there is a frequent tendency for both racial groups to perceive the school as "belonging" to the "old" group. The school name, team nicknames, school songs, and titles of school publications are a few of the many symbols that may symbolize preeminence of a particular racial group. There are other, more subtle, customs that may symbolize segregation in ways not anticipated. If editors have always been college preparatory students, and there are few college preparatory students in the "new" group, continuation of the tradition will symbolize unequal status.

The problem occasionally became acute in early days of Southern desegregation, when old names and customs symbolized racial distinctions. It is not always so obvious, however. A school named for a prominent local person

or historical event may carry symbolic significance that excludes one racial group.

When the student population of a school is changed to enhance integration, take the change as an occasion for new symbols of a new organization and mission.

The most extensive example of this strategy that we observed occurred in a Southern high school. The school district built a new school which received students from both a formerly black school and a formerly white school. The school was deliberately located in an area central to white and black communities. It was given a geographical name, associated with the community but with neither of the predecessor schools. During the first year of the school's operation, the choice of new school symbols was made a schoolwide process. The students proposed and voted on nicknames, mascots, school songs, and other symbols. When an issue was raised about the racial appropriateness of a symbol, the issue was discussed and treated as a problem deserving serious attention. This is a good example of a case in which equity was explicitly stated and accepted as a goal, and made a basis for active problem solving. A number of students and staff members specifically attributed the school's good race relations to the fact that the school was new and built its own biracial traditions.

There are instances, perhaps inevitable ones, in which arguments surrounding school symbols serve as the medium for real racial conflict. "Preserving traditions" can be a euphemism for "putting minorities in their place." Opposition to integration may focus on defense of symbols. When this happens, school personnel need to realize what is happening and deal with the reality.

The problem of restrictive eligibility rules. Participation in extracurricular activities is sometimes restricted by specific eligibility requirements. A minimum grade point average may be required for holding office in student government, for example. These rules have educational purposes; they reinforce good academic performance and reduce extracurricular demands on the time of students who need to work harder. In an integration situation, however, they often do more harm than good. The rules may correlate with white and black, and thus create a racial inequity in eligibility. They provide an opportunity for overt or covert discrimination. They invite perception of discrimination. This is particularly true when eligibility rules involve a subjective component. In some schools, some activities require satisfactory "citizenship reports" from administrators and teachers. In at least one school, this report can be submitted after the fact of election to student office.

Eliminate restrictive eligibility rules for participating in extracurricular activities.

Following this recommendation might create other problems which will have to be dealt with. But when there is a problem of internal integration, the simple, straightforward elimination of a barrier will probably help more than hurt.

Some principals expressed concern that relaxation of eligibility rules might allow troublemakers, militants, revolutionists, or "riff raff" to attain positions of respect and influence. We know of several schools in which

eligibility rules were relaxed or eliminated, including some characterized by militant confrontations. In no instance was the relaxation of eligibility rules seen as a cause of school problems. More often, the reverse was the case: The involvement of a wide range of students in problem solving, and peer reactions to the more extreme students, created a more constructive environment.

Formal and Informal Integration

Students and staff members occasionally comment approvingly or disapprovingly that much internal segregation is voluntary. Single race groupings occur in informal socialization, in planned social events, and in cultural and social clubs.

Such informal racial grouping can be, but need not be, a barrier to internal integration. The goal of internal integration is the presence of biracial equity and association, not the absence of uniracial association. The school's emphasis should always be placed on the positive goal of achieving internal integration. Thus a reasonable reaction to voluntary same-race groups is:

1. If the groups do not interfere with the goal of equitable interracial relations, leave them alone. Do not reinforce them, but do not forbid them.
2. If the groups represent reactions of minority students signalling lack of opportunity for integrated student activity, consider this a cue of the need for problem solving, and apply principles stated in other sections of this handbook.
3. If the groups represent active anti-integration efforts, take positive steps to counter them. The appropriate steps are not

directly in opposition to the groups, but toward enlisting stronger support of the student body for integration.

Diagnosis of Problems

The diagnostic questions that follow summarize a range of issues and concerns in integrated high schools. They are by no means exhaustive; they will undoubtedly suggest to students and staff members other questions that are important in a particular school. They are offered as starters to the process of diagnosis and problem solving.

The diagnostic questions might be used in several ways. Individuals may find them useful for assessing their own perceptions. Committees may use them as discussion starters and guides to agenda and priorities. Principals may use them to obtain periodic sounding of progress. It is suggested that they be answered by many participants from different perspectives: minority and majority, staff and students, administration and faculty, academic and nonacademic personnel. There will undoubtedly be disagreements, both on specific items and on general areas. The disagreements themselves will be indicative of problems; identifying sources and areas of disagreement will be a step toward solution.

Use the accompanying diagnostic questions in faculty meetings, commitee meetings, and discussions groups to identify potential problem areas.

The questions may be duplicated and forms given to faculty members and students to complete anonymously. They may also be used as a basis for an opinion survey or as discussion guides.

The questions are worded so that, in our opinion, the better answer is "yes." Every negative response indicates a potential problem. The problems should be topics for open discussion and should lead to identification and evaluation of solutions.

It is appropriate that this handbook end with questions, rather than answers. The process of achieving effective integrated education is a process of problem solving. There are principles and examples to guide action, but there are few invariable prescriptions. However, according to the experiences of respondents in many schools, integrated education can be made increasingly successful. The experience is often a highly rewarding one to all participants.

High School Diagnostic Questions

Topic: The Multi-Ethnic Curriculum

Questions:

Does the required English curriculum include study of black authors?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Are there literature courses available that emphasize the contributions of minority-group authors?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Do courses in American history present accomplishments and contributions of black Americans?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Do social studies courses deal with African, Asian, American Indian, and Latin American cultures, as well as European?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Are there elective social studies courses available that emphasize the contributions of nonwhite people and cultures?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Do fine arts courses reflect contributions of nonwhite artists and cultures?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Does the music curriculum--or chorus and band--cover the music of black people?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Does the library contain books and materials dealing with black history and culture and the contributions of black Americans?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Does the school have a systematic plan to replace old texts with integrated textbooks?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Have all teachers attended black history or culture courses?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Is material dealing with minority and majority groups presented in a manner that is integrated from both a logical and social point of view?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Are minority group members portrayed in a manner that is free of stereotypes?	Yes ☐ No ☐

Topic: Extracurricular Activities

Questions:

Can students attend extracurricular activities without regard to grades earned?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Are bussed students able to attend as readily as non-bussed students?	Yes ☐ No ☐

Are extracurricular activities free of cost or free to those who cannot afford to pay? Yes ☐ No ☐

Topic: Multi-Ethnic Teaching

Questions:

Have there been any assemblies which dealt with race? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do teachers discuss race with students in the classroom? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do teachers make assignments so that black and white students work together? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do teachers praise all students for their accomplishments rather than praise only those who accomplish the most? Yes ☐ No ☐

Are teachers equally friendly with their black students and their white students? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do teachers try to avoid warning or blaming students and scolding them for misbehavior? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do students spend the major part of the school day involved in learning? Yes ☐ No ☐

Topic: Home and School

Questions:

Have all parents visited the school? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do as many black parents attend school functions as white parents? Yes ☐ No ☐

Has the school attempted to find out what barriers keep parents from involvement in school activities? Yes ☐ No ☐

Is there a parent organization in the school? Yes ☐ No ☐

Does the parent organization have a membership representative of all major racial or ethnic groups in the school? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do black and white parents have equal status in the parent organization? Yes ☐ No ☐

Where community opposition to integration exists, have black and white parents been involved in helping to develop a school policy on racial issues? Yes ☐ No ☐

Topic: Rules and Discipline

Questions:

Is there an official school policy on rules and discipline?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Are all faculty, staff, and students aware of the school rules and the consequences for breaking them?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Have black students and white students participated in the formulation of school rules and codes of conduct?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Are white students equally likely to be punished for breaking the rule as black students?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Are the rules perceived to be fair by black and white teachers and students?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Is the general reaction to student misbehavior rational rather than emotional?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Have teachers and administrators discussed rules and discipline together?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Is there general agreement among the faculty as to disciplinary procedure?	Yes ☐ No ☐

Topic: The Staff

Questions:

Is the faculty integrated?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Do black and white personnel at the school have equal status?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Has the principal articulated the goals of the school?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Does the staff know the goals of the school?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Do those goals include good academic achievement?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Do the goals include good race relations?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Is there time set aside for the administration and faculty to discuss race relations and racial issues?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Do administration and faculty discuss race openly?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Does the school have a faculty Human Relations Committee or Multi-Ethnic Committee concerned with the issues of integrated education?	Yes ☐ No ☐

Topic: The Students

Questions:

Is there a student group with responsibility for human relations, including interethnic relations?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Are the members of that group selected by the students?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Do minorities have equal representation in the human relations group?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Do the functions of the human relations group include:	
general communication involving minority and majority students?	Yes ☐ No ☐
grievance procedures?	Yes ☐ No ☐
crisis prevention activities?	Yes ☐ No ☐
general problem solving?	Yes ☐ No ☐
planning and sponsoring social events?	Yes ☐ No ☐
orientation of new students?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Have the roles, responsibilities, and decision-making powers of the human relations group been agreed upon by the administration and the students?	Yes ☐ No ☐

Topic: Internal Integration

Questions:

Is there black student and white student representation in all curriculum tracks, including college preparatory?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Are all required classes integrated?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Are most elective classes integrated?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Where students are assigned to remedial or special education programs which remove them from the mainstream of students, does the referral system provide for the consensus of several professionals?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Does every student spend a large part of the school day in a challenging course of study?	Yes ☐ No ☐
Does every student have the opportunity for positive interracial contact with equal status?	Yes ☐ No ☐

Topic: Internal Integration (continued)

Questions:

Do the pictures in school publications generally reflect the racial composition of the school?	Yes ☐	No ☐
Are both black and white students represented in the following:		
prom queens and their courts?	Yes ☐	No ☐
officers in student government?	Yes ☐	No ☐
cheerleaders?	Yes ☐	No ☐
sport teams?	Yes ☐	No ☐
clubs?	Yes ☐	No ☐
committees?	Yes ☐	No ☐
honors?	Yes ☐	No ☐